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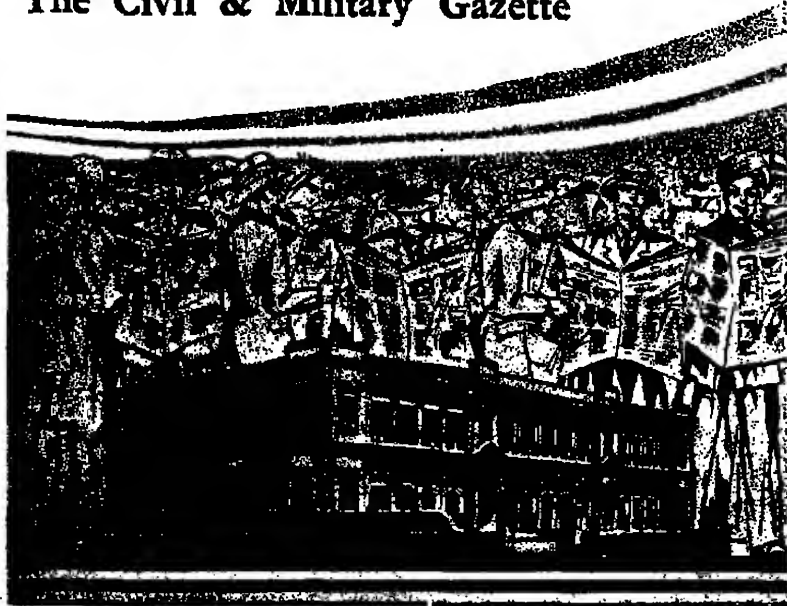
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1938

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

BURMA IN TRANSITION

BY SIR ARTHUR PAGE, K.C.

(Late Chief Justice of Burma.)

"ALL the world's a stage." Be it so, but in imperial affairs the stage is the great congeries of lands and countries beyond the seas which own allegiance to the King; England being the theatre office where policy is initiated, administration controlled, and the senior players are cast for their parts.

In such circumstances an excuse for a paper such as this might perhaps be found if we bear in mind that those who work in the "home" office cannot always find time to go behind the scenes or to watch the play themselves. An old stager therefore will, I hope, be forgiven if he offers a wrinkle or two about the progress of the play, and how the players are performing their parts.

But my diffidence in addressing the East India Association is increased because that excuse will not avail me today. For the Secretary of State for India and Burma, who has kindly consented to preside, while not spurning delights has lived laborious days, and after many far-flung wanderings in the East succeeded later in earning the reputation of being the strongest Governor who ever ruled in Bengal. He can learn nothing of the East from me, and his presence with us can, I believe, solely be due to his well-known love and understanding of the peoples and culture of the East. People generally, however, know little—certainly not so much as they should—of Burma and its inhabitants. They may have heard that the road to Mandalay is "where the flying fishes play," but nothing else. Even then they have been misinformed, for neither on the trunk road nor in the Irrawaddy has a flying

fish ever played or even been seen. But I think, especially at this stage in her material and political development, that Burma deserves, and will repay, consideration. To understand the present political situation in Burma one must first know something of the country and its people.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Burma has an area of 233,492 square miles, about twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and equal in area to Spain and Portugal together. It used to be far the largest Province of British India, being nearly twice as large as Madras and Bombay, and more than three times the size of Bengal. Its population of 15,000,000, however, is much less, due mainly to the fact that so much of Burma consists of virgin forest and jungle land.

The storied beauty of its scenery and the charm of its people I am ill equipped to expound. There is, of course, nothing in Burma to equal the majesty of the Himalayas; but exquisite scenes on mountain, lake, and river abound and the colouring is deeper and more soft than that of India. Whether the sun is setting over the hills that march on China or Siam and make the Shan States so fair a paradise, or is broadening and dimming the shadows as they steal across the mighty Irrawaddy, or is turning to deeper pink the powdered mother of pearl that forms the marge of the 900 islets of the Mergui Archipelago, or is blotting out the lines of the *kazins* on the paddy fields—no one, I believe, who sees it could fail to be aware of a subtle sense of comfort, well-being, and gentleness that is the heritage of a happy, a laughter-loving, and a contented people.

For such the Burmese are. I sometimes think that the Burmese have solved the riddle of how to be happy though living more fully than any people I have ever met. All of us have heard it said that the Burman is a lazy fellow, and if by that is meant that a Burman makes a poor merchant and a worse labourer there may be some truth in it. On the other hand the Burman who tills his own paddy fields—and most of them do—is no sluggard, and does a day's work as long and strenuous as any cultivator of the soil in other countries.

But to the Burman success in business is set in its true perspective and means but little; the accumulation of wealth nothing at all. It not seldom happens that a considerable sum of money passes through a Burman's hands, but rarely does he leave a large fortune when he dies. The Burman believes neither in caste nor feudalism nor social distinctions. For him true life consists in enjoying the good things that fortune may bring in the company of his friends; and in so doing he is assured, if he fails, of being received into their habitations.

Just one illustration. Whenever a Burman has made a successful coup—be it through business, gambling, or cock-fighting—he invites all his friends to a *pwe*, in which singers and dancers take part; but it would be regarded as most inhospitable and churlish if the *pwe* were to be held behind closed doors, and the show is always so arranged that the outside public will be able to see something of it. Of course the wonderful climate of Burma makes it more feasible to dispense hospitality in this way. For much as it is maligned we found that during the seven months from October to April the climate of Burma was wellnigh perfect. But perhaps I am prejudiced, for in the 14 years that we divided between Bengal and Burma my wife and I and our five children all enjoyed wonderful health, and none of us ever suffered from illness of any consequence.

THE WOMEN

And now may I say a few words about the position of Burmese women? Of their daintiness and attractions you will all have heard, and perhaps it is only natural that they should be—as they are—the freest women in the East, if not in the world. It is true that their husbands are normally chosen for them, but once they are married they have community of material possessions in varying shares with their husbands, and if they do not actually manage the family business (which is often the case) no Burman would dream of carrying out a business transaction without the consent of what may truly be termed his “better half.” Marriage is a matter of consent and so is divorce—it now being settled that except for a matrimonial offence or by mutual consent a Burmese

marriage cannot be dissolved. Polygamy indeed has not yet been abolished, but it is seldom practised except "up country," and is always regarded as not respectable.

Over 90 per cent. of the Burmese are Buddhists; religious teaching being imparted by the *Sangha*, or body of *pōngyis* (monks), who still exercise considerable influence upon the outlook of the people. Whatever religious tenets he professes, however, the Burman's religion is strangely and deeply coloured by animism. How the impersonal doctrines of Buddhism are compatible with *nāt* (spirit) worship I have never been able to understand, but that both form part of the customary religion of the Burmese admits of no doubt.

The customary laws relating to marriage, inheritance, and property are for the most part contained in ancient treatises called *Dhammathats*, but of them I must content myself with the following citation from a judgment in vol. v. Rangoon Reports (at p. 539):

"The progress of the Burmese nation along the road to civilization has been so rapid in recent years that the conventions and habits of the people have outrun the principles of law and rules of conduct which embody the customary law of the Burmans, and by which in times gone by Burmese Buddhists were content to be governed and controlled. That, no doubt, is a healthy sign of the times, for in the life of a nation, as in the life of an individual, to stand still is to retrograde. But as Burma progresses the common law should be 'broadbased upon her people's will,' and 'from precedent to precedent' adapted to meet new conditions as they arise."

Thus the functions of the courts in interpreting and moulding the law, if exercised with erudition and good sense, will play no small part in the future development of the country.

THE SEPARATION OF BURMA

Now to the Burmese people, possessing these characteristics and predilections, was granted in 1937 by an Act of Constitution the status, if not the title, of a self-governing dominion. Under the earlier Government of India Acts Burma had been one of the Provinces of British India, and subordinate to the authority of the Central Government of India; the executive authority in Burma

being the Governor, two members of Council appointed by the Crown, and two ministers appointed by the Governor who were members of the Legislative Council. This system of government may perhaps be open to criticism, but it worked well, and progressively Burmans were appointed to an increasing proportion of official posts of both the higher and lower grades. Indeed, before separation from India was effected nine months ago both the ministers and also one of the members of Council were all Burmans.

It would serve no useful purpose to reopen or discuss again the once burning question whether separation from India was the wisest policy to pursue in the best interests of Burma, because separation and self-government are *faits accomplis*, and what matters now is not whether the grant of a measure of self-government was wise, but whether it will work.

In this connection it is well to remember that the demand for self-government and separation was based upon two simple grounds, one of which was the belief (which was perhaps not wholly without justification) that Burma had been treated by the Government and Legislature of India as the "Cinderella" of the Provinces. It was not unnatural that it should be so. Separated from India by the "*oceanus dissociabilis*" of the Bay of Bengal, Burma was regarded as "*ultima Thule*," with problems differing from those of the other Provinces which excited little interest among Indian politicians, and it seemed that schemes for the development of Burma were more often than not shelved and her representatives out-voted and cold-shouldered.

Bishop Tubbs once observed in Rangoon Cathedral that the most up-to-date cry in all countries was "We demand self-expression"; the pity of it being that so many people had no "self" to express. But in these latter days when "self-expression" and "self-determination" are slogans that seldom fall on deaf ears, whether the hearers are individuals or nations, it was only natural, indeed it followed as a corollary from the first ground, that the grievance felt in the inability of Burma to realize her destiny when linked with India should give rise to the other ground upon which separation was advocated—namely, the

nationalist cries of "Burma for the Burmans" and "Freedom from India," which were heard on every side. Moreover, the nationalist movement was inflamed and fortified by the argument that under separation the revenues of Burma would be vastly enhanced, the advocates of separation vehemently protesting that it was only fair and reasonable that the large sums raised by customs duty and income tax should be allocated to Burma and not to India as was then the case.

THE FINANCES OF SEPARATION

As I apprehend the position it was the financial argument in favour of separation that was the main reason that prevented the large anti-separationist majority returned at the crucial election specifically held upon the issue of separation or federation from insisting upon a vote being taken in the Council upon it. Those who had proclaimed that they were against separation were, I think, a little doubtful whether they had after all "backed the right horse," and the following figures give some ground for their disquiet.

It appears from the India Budget Return for 1937-38 (Table I., p. 76) that it is estimated in India that after separation the Central Indian Government will lose in revenue payments from Burma Rs. 661 lakhs (of which Rs. 416 lakhs represent a loss in customs and Rs. 140 lakhs in income tax), the Indian Government receiving in lieu thereof a payment from Burma of only Rs. 336 lakhs, of which Rs. 323 lakhs (representing as to Rs. 229 lakhs payments in respect of debts and other liabilities payable as an annuity for 45 years, and as to Rs. 94 lakhs pensions, the annual payments on this head diminishing to zero in 20 years) have already been paid. Thus the gain to Burma in revenue by reason of separation is estimated to be about Rs. 325 lakhs. But whether in the event any net gain approaching this figure will be realized is a matter of uncertainty. It must be remembered not only that Burma is now responsible for the hitherto unremunerative Burma Railways, but, apart from the expenditure necessary for defence, unless the receipts from customs and income tax remain undiminished, the ultimate realization of the gain in revenue due to

separation from India may well turn out to fall far short of the estimate anticipated.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

If I appreciate the situation, however, the success of the measure of self-government that has been granted to Burma depends not so much upon the form of government in force, but upon the way in which the new Constitution is worked.

“For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate’er is best administered is best.”

For, after all, what is democracy?

Is it “the government of the people for the people by the people”? Can such an ideal in practice ever be attained? Is it not a delusion to imagine that the people can ever govern themselves? In a city-state of ancient Greece, where the people could be harangued in the market place, something approaching the government of the people by the people might possibly be reached, but at no time and in no country has democracy in this sense been possible, for the government of a country, whatever its outward form may be, always has been and must be carried on by an executive committee more or less restricted in numbers.

Mass opinion like mass hysteria is the negation of democracy, and the two main differences between the new Constitution in Burma and that which preceded it are (i.) that the Government of Burma is no longer subordinate to the Government of India and (ii.) that the office of member of Council appointed by the Crown is abolished, and the ministers (at present seven in number) who now form the Executive Council of the Governor must all be members of the Legislature and as such amenable to its authority.

I am speaking generally, and for the purpose in hand I do not pause to consider the jurisdiction of the Governor over certain specified districts and matters, or his overriding powers in exceptional circumstances. For the vital question appears to me to be not what are the details of the new Constitution, but whether the electors in the constituencies and their representatives, to whom

has been entrusted the right to determine the policy under which the country is to be administered, will prove equal to the responsibilities that have been cast upon them.

At first sight the omens would appear to be less favourable in Burma than in India, for the political education of the *intelligentsia* is of far longer standing in India than in Burma, although in neither country it seems have the politicians as yet been able to acquire the balanced political sense that has been hammered out in England through centuries of conciliation and compromise.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

And yet on further consideration it will, I think, be found that the political development of the people on democratic lines is more likely to be realized in Burma than in any other oriental country. And for this reason. Whatever democracy means it at least and of necessity connotes that the individual elector will form and express his own independent judgment on political matters. And yet, if I may be allowed to state my own personal experience, during the seven years that I spent in India I came across few (if any) Hindus in a position to express an unbiassed individual opinion upon any political and indeed upon few other subjects. And the reason is not far to seek, for the controlling influence in the life of a Hindu, as it seems to me, is not his religion or his caste or his community but his family; and among orthodox Hindus the management and outlook of the family is determined by the *Karta*, or senior male member, whose paramount concern is to see that the members of the family act not in the interest of the community at large but solely in what is conceived to be the interest of the family. That is poor soil upon which to implant democracy.

On the other hand the Burman is a born individualist. In his home the wife and children of a Burman enjoy a freedom unknown among other orientals. Buddhism, to which nearly all Burmans adhere, is a free-thinking religion in which there are no gods, no grades, no castes, and no distinctions. Indeed, so far does individualism obtain that the son of a Burman does not even take his father's name. It follows, therefore, that the free Bur-

man takes gladly to free institutions, and bears within him the germ of the true democrat. But, of course, he has much to learn, and many obstacles to overcome. After all, it is only 53 years since Upper Burma was annexed by Great Britain, and at present there are no settled policies and no settled parties in the country. Further, the electorate, although more literate than in India, are difficult to reach, for communications are defective and newspapers hard to come by. Is it too much to expect that broadcasting may be more widely used, for the air is free, and in that way news could reach districts where it is difficult for speakers to find their way?

In this period of transition, however, it is, I think, among the educated and well-to-do classes that the most crying need for political development exists. For the Burmese have not at present acquired any real political insight or background; politicians have little experience and practically no political history to guide them, and thus are wont to pursue personalities rather than principles, and to let the human element and their individual likes and dislikes play too large a part in the formation of their political views.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Further, the provision in the Act of Constitution that 41 out of 132 members of the House of Representatives must be elected on communal lines will surely tend to delay the day when legislators in Burma will learn the lesson—so often forgotten elsewhere—enshrined in Burke's famous address to the electors of Bristol: namely, that a candidate after his election is not a delegate or even a member of a particular constituency, but a member of parliament whose duty it is to act not in the interest merely of those who elected him, but for the benefit of Burma as a whole. But fertile soil assuredly lies ready at hand, and the advent of the skilled cultivator is eagerly awaited. Now is the time for ploughing and sowing the seed lest tares grow up and the crop is never brought to fruition. I am persuaded that Burma must needs start on the right road here and now, and that delay may well spell disaster. For if, within the next 20 or 30 years her politicians have not acquired political wisdom, and Burma has not learnt to

manage her own affairs, there is grave danger that exports and imports will diminish beyond recovery, commercial houses will seek new fields where markets are more stable and political conditions less precarious, and Burma will have lost at once her credit and her prosperity.

The call, therefore, is for labourers to enter the field forthwith. It is sometimes said that for the Civil Service the East holds no future, and that its work is done. No greater or more specious error could be entertained or spread abroad. For young men with courage, inspiration, and love of adventure, no finer life can be imagined, no career more fruitful of lasting benefit to the Empire, than to guide and train a young nation such as Burma as it strains to reach maturity; remembering, in Lord Curzon's words, "that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of his ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time."

Politically undeveloped, with vast material resources untapped, with only one trunk road from north to south and grievously inadequate communications from east to west, Burma stands like a *débutante* at her first grown-up dance, glittering, laughing, happy, but slightly unstrung by the new freedom that is hers. She needs a steady hand to guide her or she may lose her head and throw away her chances. Let her partners, European, Indian, and of her own blood, hold her firmly as she steps so gaily to take her place among the nations, for she has yet to gain experience, and hers is a great adventure. May she learn the lesson of the ages while the day is still young, and in the fullness of time win for herself an honoured place within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 8, 1938, when a paper entitled "Burma in Transition" was read by Sir Arthur Page, K.C. (formerly Chief Justice of Burma). The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, F.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., who combines the offices of Secretary of State for India and Secretary of State for Burma, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, after reading a telegram from Lord Lamington, expressing his regret at not being able to be present, said: The Association are very much to be congratulated on having persuaded Sir Arthur Page to come and talk to us about Burma in transition. I first met Sir Arthur Page about forty-five or more years ago, when we were *in statu pupillari* at a school on a hill not more than twelve miles, as the crow flies, from the hall in which we are sitting. After that our ways diverged until later days, when Sir Arthur Page in his turn directed his gaze towards the East, and in 1922 went out to Calcutta as a judge of the High Court of that Bench.

Subsequently, in 1930, he proceeded to Rangoon as Chief Justice, and the period of his stay there, from 1930 to 1936, may be said, I think, to have been one of the most crucial periods in the history of Burma. Those six years covered amongst other things a rebellion, an anti-separation agitation, the Burma Round-Table Conference, and finally the Government of Burma Act. (The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am most grateful to Sir Arthur Page, both for what he has told us about Burma in transition and for the opportunity which he has thus given me of adding my good wishes to the people of Burma on the new course which they are now steering.

It is rather more than thirty years since I first set foot on the soil of Burma. On that occasion I entered by the back door for, after making my way for 1,500 miles up the Yangtze river from the Pacific seaboard, I had covered many hundred miles on foot in western China and I actually crossed the frontier into Burma in the neighbourhood of Bhamo. I was immensely attracted by the people of the country and by the spirit of kindness, almost indeed of joyousness, derived as it seemed to me from their adherence to the precepts of the Lord Buddha which pervaded the land. I had at an earlier date spent two years in India and some of its border lands, and I was struck even at that time by the contrast between the two countries. Burma, it seemed to me, had problems of her own to solve which had little direct connection with the problems of India. The inclusion of the country in the Indian administrative system was the outcome, I soon realized, of nothing more than an historical accident. This early conviction never left me, and I confess that from the earliest days of the Round-Table Con-

ferences I was an advocate of the separation of the two countries. It is, therefore, a matter of peculiar satisfaction to me that fate should have decreed that I should be the first Secretary of State for Burma, and that it should fall to my lot to watch over the launching of the Burmese ship of state under a crew and officers of her own. Since April 1 last there has been much to give point to the new status which she has acquired since she took the water under her own sail. She sent her own contingents of troops and police to take part in the Coronation celebrations. Her Prime Minister, Dr. Ba Maw, took his place along with the Prime Ministers of other parts of the Empire in the Coronation procession, and he attended the Imperial Conference on the same footing as the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. One of his colleagues, Dr. Thein Maung, came from Burma to negotiate a trade agreement with the United Kingdom; and in this connection I am delighted to know that Burma is to have her pavilion at the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow. She has her advisers attached to the United Kingdom delegation at the League of Nations, and she is to be represented by her own delegate at the forthcoming Tele-Communications Conference at Cairo. All these things provide striking evidence of her recently acquired status.

So far as the internal administration of the country is concerned, I can speak only as an onlooker—albeit a close onlooker—for that lies for the most part beyond my control. I might quote, for example, the proposal which her Government have under consideration for the establishment of a State lottery as evidence of their independence of interference from His Majesty's Government here at home. So far as the working of the Parliamentary system goes it is clear, of course, to the observer that it has to accommodate itself to conditions which differ in some material respects from those with which we are familiar here; and though it is, perhaps, early days in which to form a considered opinion it is so far equally clear that, in spite of the fact that her people have had no previous experience of lines of political cleavage other than for or against the Government, and that her legislature is made up of racial blocks and of small groups rather than of parties with the historical traditions with which we are familiar here, the system is working with a gratifying degree of stability. Her Ministers are devoting themselves with commendable zeal to the solution of great social, financial, and agricultural problems; and have been wise, I think, in remitting difficult and contentious questions such as those concerning land and agriculture and the fiscal system to committees for careful examination before drawing up their legislative proposals.

I was particularly struck by what Sir Arthur Page said as to the future place of the Civil Service, and I agree wholeheartedly with him. It is an immense advantage to the Government to have as the agents of its policy an upright, an efficient, and a sympathetic Civil Service. The Civil Service of Burma has behind it the traditions of that unique body of men, the Indian Civil Service, and will, I have little doubt, both as to its British and its Burman personnel play a part in the future commensurate with its responsibilities and worthy of its history in the past. Finally, let me pay a tribute of admiration to the Governor, Sir A. Cochrane, for the ability with which he is discharging the great task which has fallen to his lot and, not

least, for the wholehearted manner in which he is identifying himself with the interests of the people committed to his charge. Knowing, as I do personally, the two men upon whose shoulders rests with greatest weight today the burden of guiding the destinies of the country, Sir A. Cochrane and Dr. Ba Maw, I look forward with confident expectation to the future of Burma.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have present others who can speak with greater personal knowledge of Burma than I can, and I would like to ask Sir Charles Innes, a former Governor of Burma, if he would make a contribution to our discussion.

SIR CHARLES INNES: It is with considerable diffidence that I rise to address this audience, because I am conscious that I can no longer claim to speak with any authority about Burma and its problems. It is more than five years since I left the province, and things move so fast in the East nowadays that we retired officials get out of date with appalling rapidity. Still, I am very glad to have the opportunity of congratulating my old friend, Sir Arthur Page, on his very delightful paper.

When I was Governor of Burma, Sir Arthur Page was the Chief Justice, and I used to contrast his lot enviously with mine. I was right in the middle of the hurly-burly, and I used to think of Sir Arthur across the way, serene, calm, dignified, presiding over the High Court of Judicature in Rangoon. It used to remind me of an old Latin tag—I don't mind quoting it now because I am glad to see from *The Times* that all the best people are reverting to the old pronunciation!—*Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis*. That is to say, being interpreted, How sweet it is to sit upon the sea shore and watch the winds lash the waves to fury.

At any rate, you will agree with me that Sir Arthur Page was in a very advantageous position to survey the passing stream of political progress. I am sure you will also agree with me that he made very good use of his opportunities. I have only to refer to his wise and kindly paper. It made me quite homesick for the green and pleasant land of Burma. But there is one point which I must not be taken in any way to endorse: that is his encomium upon the climate. Some fortunate people, like Sir Arthur Page, may have flourished in it: weaker vessels like myself had not the same fortunate experience; and if any of you think that by going to Rangoon between the magic months of September and April you will be going to some bracing health resort, I must disabuse you of that idea.

There was another point on which I differ from the lecturer. When he said that the reasons on which the demand for separation were based were, firstly, the feeling that Burma had been rather unjustly treated by India, and, secondly, a desire for financial gain, I think he was over-simplifying.

It is true, of course, that there was a feeling in Burma that India had been, so to speak, the unjust stepmother to Burma, and indeed there is official confirmation of that feeling in the Report of the Meston Financial Adjustment Committee. It was also hoped that as a result of separation, Burma might gain financially. But those reasons, I think, were mere accidents. The real reasons behind the urge for separation lay much deeper.

They were far more fundamental in character, so fundamental indeed that in my time there was no controversy, in the true sense of the word, about separation. Even the most extreme opponents of separation at that time admitted that the ultimate separation of Burma from India was inevitable. What they claimed was that Burma should have the right to remain in India as long as it suited her, with the right reserved to her to cut adrift when she wished. That was the only controversy in my time.

Still, as Sir Arthur has said, that controversy is dead, and of all people in the world I am sure I am the last to wish to revive it. Separation is an accomplished fact now, for good or for evil, and we can leave it at that.

For the reasons I have already explained, I am not going to hazard an opinion as to how the new Government of Burma is shaping or how things are going in Burma in this transition period. For one thing, as Lord Zetland said, it is much too early to attempt to form any judgment.

I quite agree with Sir Arthur Page that the really crucial question relates to the electorate, how far it can be trusted wisely to choose its representatives. In many respects, of course, conditions for democratic government are more favourable in Burma than in India. There is no caste—a vital difference. We are not troubled in Burma by the age-long cleavage between Hindu and Muslim. The position of women is much higher. As far as statistics go, again, the standard of literacy is higher in Burma than in India; but I am not quite sure how far we can trust those statistics. It may be that literacy in Burma is somewhat fugitive. At any rate I should say, as Sir Arthur has said, that the electorate in Burma is possibly even more politically backward than it is in India.

But I have been told—and on good authority—that the education of the electorate in India is proceeding at a pace which no one would have dreamt of three or four years ago, and I have no doubt that as in India so in Burma the education of the electorate will go on. I only hope so, for I am certain that there are grave problems facing the new Government of Burma. It would take too long to go into those problems. The most difficult of them all, I think, is the agrarian problem, which has a long history. It dates back almost to the opening of the Suez Canal. The whole of the lower part of Burma is the delta of the Irrawaddy. When the Suez Canal was opened paddy and rice became world crops. The delta, which at that time was cultivated only in patches, has been reclaimed almost entirely, and it has been reclaimed by Burman cultivators with the aid of Indian money, money from the chetty moneylenders. The chetty moneylenders are good moneylenders as far as they go. Still they are business men, and if they do not get their money they foreclose.

Consider what Sir Arthur told us about the character of the Burman. It is true he does not care about the accumulation of wealth, but he likes money for what it can buy. He is a happy-go-lucky fellow, and it is his habit to mortgage his land up to some 75 per cent of its value. During the ten years 1920-1929 paddy prices varied from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 for 100 baskets; when the great slump came they dropped to less than Rs. 60. As I have said, most of the cultivators had mortgaged their lands to the chetties up to 75 per cent. of their value on the basis of paddy at Rs. 150 for 100 baskets;

with paddy at Rs. 60 they were ruined, and more and more land passed out of their possession into that of the Indian moneylenders.

That, I am afraid, is a very serious problem. You may wonder why we did not deal with it before the new Government came into being. I can only tell you that ever since the beginning of the century Government after Government has applied its mind to the problem. The obvious solution seemed to lie in some form of alienation Act, but all attempts to find a solution on those lines always broke down on the difficulty or impossibility of defining "agriculturist" in Burma.

I would like to stress that when the new Government of Burma tackles this problem it must bear in mind the susceptibilities of the Indian. It seems to me essential that in these next few years Burma should work in with India as much as possible, because Burma depends on India for its markets; and with all the problems that are going to face Burma in the next few years, it seems to me that the Burmans should always have regard to the necessity of retaining the good will of India.

I will not say more, and will only add that I agree with Sir Arthur Page and Lord Zetland that there is still a place in Burma for the young Englishman, and I join with them both in wishing success and prosperity to Burma on the threshold of her new adventure.

Sir HUGH STEPHENSON: I do not feel there is very much left for me to say. I was sandwiched in between Sir Charles Innes and Sir Archibald Cochrane, and I myself was very much in the transition stage between the formulation of separation and the finished article. I have always felt that separation, as Sir Charles Innes has said, goes very much deeper than any question of immediate benefits. As long as England was ruling India as a benevolent autocrat, it was possible to administer all parts of the Indian Empire in the way that suited them best without particular reference to the other parts. The ruling authority was an outside one.

When England progressed on the path she laid down for India of progressive self-government, and progressed very fast, one of two things, it seems to me, had to happen: either Burma had to identify her interests completely with India so that Burma could feel that the will of the majority was equitable and should always be followed, or the special interests of Burma had to be safeguarded.

Historically, geographically, and for other reasons the complete merging of the interests of Burma with those of India was impracticable. The Report of the Simon Commission showed quite clearly that there was no way of safeguarding the peculiar interests of Burma, and particularly the interests of Burmese self-government within the framework of the Indian Federation. Therefore separation appeared to me to be inevitable, and I think it was the subconscious realization of this rather than the expectation of any immediate financial advantage that led the majority in the Legislative Council to decline to take the responsibility of voting against separation.

I am not sure that I altogether agree with Sir Arthur Page in his estimate of the individuality of the Burman. The Burman is very tolerant, tolerant of good and tolerant of evil; but I think I should not be prepared to say that

he was so free from mass sentiment or mass hysteria as Sir Arthur Page suggests. I think perhaps the events of six or seven years ago would be an instance in point.

Sir Arthur's paper has brought back very happy recollections to those of us who have been to Burma, and I am sure has kindled the desire of those who have not to repair the omission at once.

Sir IDWAL LLOYD : I hope that Sir Arthur Page will allow me to add my congratulations on his very interesting and thoughtful sketch of the people of Burma and of the conditions under which her future political development must take place—a sketch inspired, I may say, by the thorough-going wisdom which we in Burma had always been led to expect from one who came there not merely to "minister justice truly and indifferently," but to devote to the service of the High Court a painstaking and enlightened study of the conditions and history of the country.

There were several passages in Sir Arthur Page's paper which might have suggested to me texts for remarks by way of endorsement or amplification from my own experience of the country; but I think perhaps it would be most appropriate if, as the Finance Member of the late Government—or I should say perhaps the latest Finance Member of the late Government, for I can see at least two others in this room—if I were to devote the short time allotted to me to the financial aspect of the change in Burma's status.

We have always found it a matter of great difficulty to calculate precisely the amount of Burma's gain from separation. Sir Arthur Page dealt rather with the amount of India's loss than the amount of Burma's gain—not necessarily quite the same thing. He rightly put the amount of the principal transferred revenues at some 6½ crores of rupees; and he also rightly put the total of the instalments of debt repayment and of the payment for pensions in the first year at 3 crores 23 lakhs of rupees. But even from the point of view of the Government of India these two sets of figures by no means end the story. In taking over the transferred revenues, Burma also relieved India of considerable obligations and burdens in the matter of local expenditure, which included primarily the cost of the defence services and the frontier force. The Burma Railways had been a deficit concern for some years before they were handed over to Burma on separation by the Indian Railway Board; and the Burma section of the Indian system of posts and telegraphs had always, it appears, been run at a loss. There were therefore some very definite compensations for India's loss of revenue.

The Burma Budget for the year 1937-38, which had to be prepared by the old Government before the new Government came into being, estimated the ordinary revenue receipts as likely to exceed the expenditure debitable to revenue by some Rs. 1 crore 79 lakhs. But this surplus was to be reduced by a formidable complication of entries under what are called the debt and deposit heads to Rs. 1 crore 26 lakhs, when the final closing balance was compared with the opening balance. Nor was the whole of this surplus to be ascribed directly to separation, for there were a certain number of improvements estimated under the old provincial heads of revenue.

The realization of this surplus is quite another matter. The Budget to

which I have referred, being prepared by the old Government, made no allowance for certain inevitable expenditure, the amount of which must depend on decisions to be taken by the new Government, nor for other items of expenditure which might be found necessary by the new Government in pursuance of new developments of policy. The Budget was definitely a tentative and experimental Budget. I do not know what additions to expenditure have been found necessary up to the present, but I understand that the new Government has decided to make an immediate reduction in the rates of the capitation and *thathameda* taxes which will involve a loss of some Rs. 40 lakhs in the revenue. Nature also has intervened to inflict serious damage on what promised to be a bumper rice crop this year by two spells of very heavy rain-storms on the eve of the harvest, and it seems very unlikely that the estimated amount of land revenue will be realized. It is clear, therefore, that already serious inroads will have been made in the closing balance.

Some reduction of the unpopular capitation and *thathameda* taxes was no doubt inevitable for a popular Government; but, personally, with my ingrained bureaucratic conservatism, I should have much preferred to see the reduction made by more gradual and tentative stages. (Hear, hear.) Nor can I persuade myself that in attempting to replace some portion of the loss, as I understand is to be attempted, by the institution of periodical *State lotteries*, the new Government is adopting a really very wise course, at any rate from the point of view of public credit.

The new régime has been given a reasonably favourable financial start; but there is no such surplus as might tempt the Finance Minister to throw over the so-called canons of financial propriety, or the time-honoured bureaucratic principle of the exercise, in dealing with the taxpayer's money, of the same care that one applies to transactions in one's own. (Applause.)

SIR ARTHUR PAGE, in reply, said: You have only to hear Sir Charles Innes and Sir Hugh Stephenson to understand how diffident I was to say anything about Burma. As I was merely the Chief Justice I should be the last person in the world to dispute anything that they said. Not, of course, that they could do anything to me now, or that they could have done anything to me then, but because I realize that they know much more about these matters than I do. And yet I cannot allow Sir Charles Innes to get away quite scot free. When you look at my emaciated appearance and contrast with it the singularly handsome and well-nurtured appearance that he presents, I think that for once the laughter will be against him and upon my side. (Laughter.)

And when he went on to say that I had an easy passage while he had such a difficult time may I remind him that there was such a thing as a rebellion in our day, and it so happened that there were many hundreds of persons who had to be tried for treason. Unfortunately Sir Charles, although in the Shan States he was himself Chief Justice, could not do any of this work himself. He asked me if I would take steps—mark you, without any further assistance, no additional judges (and no extra payment to me!)—myself to have tried some hundreds of prisoners in the shortest reasonable time. I had to do it, and somehow we got through it. But I often used to

think, when we were burning midnight oil and trying to master the facts of these intricate cases, of Sir Charles Innes up at Maymyo after his round of golf, able to go to sleep in the evening when dinner was over.

Now, may I say one thing more before time is up? I should like to apologize, if I may, for my sins of omission. There are many matters and many points, of course, which one would like to dilate upon; but Sir Frank Brown, who has arranged this meeting with his usual distinction and great success, is inexorable and his time-table has to be followed, and if I have not said all that I ought to have done I hope you will forgive me.

There is just one other point about which I should like to say a word because it was mentioned both by Sir Charles Innes and by Sir Idwal Lloyd. Of course, it is a point upon which I knew that they with their knowledge and experience would say something, because it goes to the root of everything; but I could not burden my paper with too much detail. The real difficulty, as I understand it, in Burma is this—that it has its eggs in so few baskets. It is a luxuriantly endowed part of the world, but, so far as revenue is concerned, it largely depends each year for success or prosperity upon whether there is a good harvest or not; and nobody knows that so well as Sir Hugh Stephenson, because he was there in the lean years when the bottom had fallen out of the paddy market, and somehow or other in his Budget he had to make two ends meet as best he could.

Let me explain what I mean, to show you how careful the administration of Burma must needs be, as I tried to emphasize in my paper.

How dependent Burma is upon the rice crop is shown by this fact, that from the port of Rangoon—you see, I provided myself with certain figures because I anticipated the line that these gentlemen would take—the total exports were Rs. 1,822 lakhs in value in 1936-37; and of those exports no less than Rs. 783 lakhs were of rice. That shows how enormously Burma depends upon a good harvest.

Further, it is extraordinary how the value of rice products varies from year to year. For instance, in 1932-33, the value of exports of rice was Rs. 949 lakhs, whereas in 1933-34, the next year, it was only Rs. 686 lakhs, which shows how greatly the crop and exports vary. Thus upon the maintenance and stability of the rice crop mainly depends the amount of revenue that the Government has in hand.

If I may say so, I thoroughly agree that it is only if the greatest care is taken to see that both the quality and the quantity of the rice crop is so far as possible maintained that it will be possible to have a stable Government in Burma, because she has not now the credit and stability of the Indian Empire behind her. So long as she was a province of India she could always look to the great resources of India itself to back her up in difficulties. Now she has to stand on her own feet, and that is why I ventured to say in my paper that it is so extremely important that in the next few years the politicians in Burma should learn their business, and should be careful to maintain as far as they can the prosperity of Burma by keeping up the staple products of the country.

I think that is all I need say, because those were really the only matters upon which comments were made.

Sir Hugh Stephenson suggested, I think, that I had said that there was no mass hysteria in Burma. He misunderstood me, however, for I did not say that at all. What I did say was that mass hysteria, like mass opinion, is not democratic, and I then contrasted the effect of the individualist life which the Burmese live with the life in a Hindu joint family that an orthodox Hindu leads.

Of course in all countries in the world we are in danger in these days of mass hysteria, and in the rebellion thousands of people were led to believe that they could stand up against machine-guns because, if they were injected in a certain way, any bullets that struck them would turn to coloured flour. If that is not mass hysteria I do not know what is.

That is all I have to say, except to thank you all very much for coming in such large numbers to this meeting. I feel it is a great compliment to have had here today the two Governors of Burma with whom I served in such very happy association when I was Chief Justice in Burma; and I cannot sit down without saying once more how personally grateful I am to Lord Zetland for presiding at the meeting, not merely because he and I have known each other for between forty and fifty years, but because he knows and loves the East and the peoples of the East as few people in England do.

He may be interested to know that I keep by me his book, one of the trilogy, *The Land of the Thunderbolt*, because in that book he most clearly and happily recalls the magic and the mystery of the Buddhist countries. You have only to be in those countries, in Tibet, Bhutan, or Burma, to be conscious of magic and mysticism which you do not find elsewhere in the world. And in this book, too, he refers to, and reminds us of, the unforgettable loveliness of Sandakphu and Chumalhari, of Darjeeling and Kalimpong, places which he has enjoyed and which I have enjoyed too.

I thank you, sir, very much indeed for your great kindness in sparing the time to preside at this meeting.

Sir MALCOLM SETON : I am not going to detain you long at this late hour, but we would not wish to separate after what has been a particularly interesting discussion—valuable to us because the Association has not had the opportunity of studying Burmese affairs much—without passing a very hearty vote of thanks both to Sir Arthur Page for his extremely interesting and stimulating paper and to Lord Zetland for coming to preside.

Sir Arthur Page I recall a good many years ago as a fellow private in a volunteer corps, and it is a great pleasure to meet him in this new capacity.

Of Lord Zetland I may perhaps be allowed to say that it is a very great pleasure to us to welcome an "old friend with a new face." This is the first opportunity we have had of meeting him as Secretary of State for Burma. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN : Sir Arthur Page and I are most grateful to you, and that now concludes our business.

RECEPTION TO SIR JOHN ANDERSON

LADY BENNETT kindly invited members of the East India Association to meet the Right Hon. Sir John Anderson on his return from his five and a half years' successful Governorship of Bengal. The function took the form of a reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on January 10. Lady Bennett, who was accompanied by Sir John, received nearly 300 guests. As Lord Lamington had been absent on the Continent, Sir Harcourt Butler presided. Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, spoke in eulogistic terms of Sir John's achievements in Bengal, and he made a brief reply. These speeches were reported at length in newspapers throughout the country. A feature of the afternoon which was much enjoyed was the showing by Mr. John Davie, lately A.D.C. to Sir John Anderson, of a film he had taken of a visit paid by Sir John to Bhutan, the independent Himalayan country lying along the south-eastern frontier of Tibet. The film was made the more attractive by the introductory remarks of Mr. Davie and by his explanation and comments as it appeared on the screen.

The CHAIRMAN, before calling upon Sir Samuel Hoare to speak, said: I have had a letter of regret from the High Commissioner for India, Sir Firozkhan Noon, who says that the doctor will not allow him to go out. He adds: "However, my heart is with you in welcoming a Governor whose Province is known to have caused many anxieties in the past and is now, thanks to Sir John's patience and wisdom, one of the keenest in developing a spirit of friendliness and one of the foremost in successfully working the new reforms. I wish Sir John many years of happiness and peace as a well-earned reward for the unrivalled services he has rendered to my people and country."

I will only add that we all here are very grateful to our kind and generous hostess, Lady Bennett, for giving us an opportunity of welcoming Sir John Anderson almost immediately after his return to England. We all deem it a great privilege, and, if I may say so, especially the members of the Indian Civil Service deem it a great privilege to share in doing honour to a man who went to India with a great reputation, a deservedly great reputation, and who has come back with an even greater reputation, a deservedly greater reputation. We all admire the man, and we all admire his work. (Applause.)

THE HOME SECRETARY'S SPEECH

SIR SAMUEL HOARE said: I am here today in the company of a great Indian Civilian, Sir Harcourt Butler, and a great British Civilian, Sir Findlater Stewart, to welcome home a public servant of conspicuous eminence. I was the Secretary of State who recommended Sir John Anderson's appointment to Bengal. Let that fact be always remembered to my credit. But let it be remembered even more to Sir John Anderson's credit that he abandoned one of the highest posts in the peaceful atmosphere of Whitehall for the Government in Calcutta at a most critical and even a dangerous moment. Terrorism was rife, an attempt had recently been made on the life of his predecessor, the delightful and distinguished Sir Stanley Jackson. Terrorist outrages had almost trebled in the space of two years. It was a bold choice that Sir John Anderson made in the face of those troubles. How well I remember putting the offer to him, and with what relief I heard him say, "Well, I suppose that I have almost completed my career in Whitehall, and being a Scot I am ready to try another." Yes, and where more suitable for a Scot to try than in India? For was it not truly said a century ago, "The two main exports of Scotland are lean cattle to England and distinguished administrators to India." (Laughter and cheers.)

Well, he went to India, and very soon he conquered the heart of Bengal. For the people of Bengal, the citizens of India's most historic Province, are as quick as any people in the world to mark ability and to understand real worth. Sir John was faced with a double task—he on the spot was indeed faced with the same double task that confronted us at Westminster—the restoration of law and order on the one hand, and the development of constitutional reform on the other. Sometimes it seemed difficult to reconcile these two objectives, but none the less, as events proved, it was impossible to achieve the one without the other.

Sir John's administration proved that it was possible to succeed on this double front. And I believe that he would agree with me when I say that even with all his administrative talents his success could not have been so complete if he had not been supported throughout all the years of his administration by a definite and undeviating policy of constitutional reform.

Let us then draw this first lesson from his record. If full scope is to be given to our great administrators, the Government at home must give them a clear and intelligible policy to carry out. What staggering results might have been achieved by the greatest of all Indian administrators, Warren Hastings, if he had not been hampered at every turn by spite and vacillation in Westminster!

Let us draw more lessons from Sir John Anderson's success. He restored order. In his last years terrorism scarcely showed its head. But he also restored the sanity and balance of many misguided terrorists. He was thus able to reduce the number of *détenus* by two-thirds and to re-settle many of them in civil life. He showed that while repression could be effectively carried out, the more difficult task of reformation could also be made to

succeed. As Home Secretary I hope that I have taken to heart this lesson in the field of penal administration.

But there is still a third lesson that he has to teach us, and perhaps, like charity, it is the greatest of the three. It is the lesson of goodwill. I am disclosing no State secret when I say that throughout all those years when I was engaged upon the Indian Constitution at the India Office, the question that most worried many of my friends was this: How will the responsible *Indian Ministers* be able to work with Governors invested with their special responsibilities? Will not each insist upon his statutory powers and will not the result be crisis and deadlock? Over and over again I said to my critics: "I put my faith in goodwill and common sense. I do not believe that either side will adopt a rigid and pedantic line. I believe that difficulties will be surmounted by consultation rather than crisis." Is it not on these lines that the new Constitution has started, particularly in the great Province of Bengal?

Is there any Bengal Minister who will not say that Sir John Anderson's goodwill, wide experience, and impartial advice have not been of inestimable value to them in these early days of a great experiment? Would not Sir John Anderson himself say that as he was able to help his Ministers, so his Ministers were able to help him in many important directions and upon many difficult issues. Indeed, the most significant fact in recent Indian history is the manifest desire of Indian Ministers and British Governors to co-operate in a great experiment. Sir John Anderson's relations with his Ministers in Bengal are the outward and visible sign of the goodwill without which no Government can prosper.

Having spent five years of my life with Indian questions, I know enough of them to avoid confident prophecies and easy optimism or equally easy pessimism. There will be anxieties and disappointments in the new chapter. There will be success here and failure there. What else could there be in a *subcontinent of three hundred million souls*? But upon the whole I believe that we have started the new chapter on the right road. If this be the case, it is not a little due to men like Sir John Anderson, whose minds were stored with wise experience and whose hearts were in the work upon which they were engaged.

To him we offer our thanks and congratulations tonight. To his successor, Lord Brabourne, one of my oldest friends and a Governor in the true Anderson tradition, we send our best wishes. And may I add to them the personal message of one whose main interest in public life has been India, and whose Indian friends are still many and various? "Work the Constitution throughout India," I venture to say to them, "as Sir John Anderson has worked it in Bengal, and his Ministers, on a foundation of goodwill and co-operation, and India will prove to the world at the very moment when in the East and West liberty and democracy are challenged that free institutions are still the best and that the British Empire is the most effective framework in which they can be developed." (Loud cheers.)

SIR JOHN ANDERSON'S REPLY

SIR JOHN ANDERSON: I hope you all realize that this is a very awkward situation for me. Sir Samuel Hoare has been very kind, far too kind. If he had mentioned, even only incidentally, a few of the mistakes that I have made—and I am fully conscious of them even though for some unaccountable reason they seem to have eluded the vigilance of an ever-watchful Press (and the Press has been very kind too)—if he had only done that, I might have got up and made a spirited reply. As it is, I feel that the one thing I would really like to do would be to slink away and hide myself under one of these tables. But I know you would not let me do that, and so I must go through with it. There are, as a matter of fact, just one or two things that I would like to say besides thanking Sir Samuel Hoare—and I am most grateful to him—for the very gracious references that he has made to me.

The first thing I want to say is pretty obvious. It is that any success that I may have had in Bengal would not have been possible without the effective co-operation of others. There is Sir Samuel himself, if he will permit me to say so, a really great Secretary of State, whose mastery of all the intricacies of the new Indian Constitution must have been the envy of every Civil Servant in Whitehall. (Applause.) And Lord Willingdon with his wonderful and unrivalled knowledge of every phase of India's problems. (Applause.) These two gave their Governors a clear and consistent policy, and I agree entirely with what Sir Samuel said when he told us that a clear policy consistently applied is the first essential to success in any branch of administration. After them Lord Zetland and Lord Lialithgow followed the same course. When the reformed Constitution came into operation many things had to be done in a hurry and a great deal had to be taken on trust, but we Governors in India could always feel assured of the sympathetic and steadfast support of our Viceroy and our Secretary of State.

My second remark relates to the Services. Just before I went to Bengal I was told by one who had himself served in the I.C.S. in Bengal, and subsequently occupied a position of high responsibility at home, that the heart had gone out of the Services in Bengal. I was immensely relieved to find, when I got there, that that was not the case. I cannot speak too highly of the response that the Services gave to all the calls that were made upon them, notwithstanding the difficulties and trials that they had to meet. (Applause.) They are giving the same steadfast, loyal, and efficient service to the new responsible Governments in Bengal.

Since the 1st of April we have had a responsible—a fully responsible—Government in Bengal. I think I shall probably be right in saying that it was largely on the strength of assurances given by me, assurances no doubt supported by the known facts of the situation, that despite misgivings—honest misgivings, misgivings widely held, misgivings that found emphatic expression in the Report of the Joint Select Committee—despite those misgivings it was decided that Bengal should start off with responsible Government on exactly the same footing as all the other Provinces in India.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that it would have been a disaster for Bengal, it would have been disastrous to India and disastrous to all the hopes that were centred in the new scheme of constitutional reform, if a different decision had had to be taken. And I doubt whether there is now anyone either in India or in this country who would assert that that decision was wrong.

The new Ministry, which took office on the 1st April, has already been subjected to very severe tests; how severe no one, I think, quite realizes as I do. In circumstances of very great difficulty they have shown themselves capable of formulating and applying a courageous, firm, and consistent policy. They have thereby established themselves in a position of great prestige among the responsible Ministries in India.

There were three things which as Governor I regarded for some time after I went to Bengal as affording real ground for apprehension in regard to the success of the reforms. The first, of course, was terrorism. I think one can say that for the last two years terrorism has been completely under control, and I personally see no reason why it should ever again get out of control. (Applause.) The complete eradication of the terrorist mentality must, of course, be a long business. That is now a task for Indians to carry out, and I think they are best qualified to undertake it. I am satisfied that a good beginning has been made.

The next ground of apprehension that I saw was a possible landslide in the Services. Of that there has been absolutely no indication. The Services are working, as I have indicated, efficiently, and I believe happily, under their new masters.

The third possible snag was a financial breakdown, and there we certainly have had a bit of luck. The economic depression began to lift just in time, and though the Niemeyer Award did not give us all that we asked for, or indeed all that we thought was our due, I believe that it has provided the new responsible Government in Bengal with ample resources under prudent management for the maintenance of a sound and progressive policy.

As Sir Samuel has told you, my relations with my Ministers were throughout of the happiest description. I am sure that my admirable successor, who had already, as I can say from personal observation, established himself firmly in the affections of the people of Bombay, will meet with equally friendly co-operation in Bengal.

That is really all that I have to say. I am very glad that the happy thought should have occurred to someone of combining entertainment with the more serious business of the afternoon, and that you will see a film, which apart from its high entertainment value—and it is a very good film—will help perhaps to give you a truer perspective of the life of a Governor in India. None of you will go away, as some of you might have done, with the mistaken impression of a poor drudge, wrestling day by day from morning till night with grave problems of state, able to find relief only in social recreation of the most formal character.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to thank you very much indeed for the kindness that you have shown me this afternoon, and may I add my tribute of thanks to our hostess, Lady Bennett, and to Sir Frank Brown,

who always organizes these things so admirably, as well as to my friend, Sir Samuel Hoare, for his too kind remarks about me. (Applause.)

A VISIT TO BHUTAN

Mr. JOHN DAVIS, in introducing his film, said: I believe that one of the only two Governors of Bengal, or indeed of anywhere else, to visit Bhutan is here this evening. As I myself was only one of several A.D.C.'s to Sir John Anderson you may well wonder why I and not he is talking to you this evening. He could certainly give you a very much more interesting talk on Bhutan than I can. I must therefore assume that it is my film which you have come here to see rather than to hear a lecture on Bhutan. If you can take your minds with me away from Grosvenor House and imagine yourselves in the lands of the lost horizon, you will be in the right frame of mind to enjoy the film with a minimum of talk and explanation from me.

The film opens at Christmas, 1934, with the arrival at Government House, Calcutta, of His Highness Sir Jigme Wangchuk, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Bhutan. Bhutan is a country of some 18,000 square miles lying along the north-east frontier of India between Sikkim, Tibet, and Assam. Its western frontier is less than a hundred miles from Darjeeling, and yet in spite of this it is one of the most difficult countries in the world for a European to visit. The trouble is that to cross the frontier the permission of Sir Jigme Wangchuk has to be obtained, and Sir Jigme does not fancy having his wonderful country overrun by Europeans, with the inevitable complications that would ensue. As a result, less than forty Europeans have in fact ever been allowed inside the country.

His Highness, who had never before been away from his own country, was reported never to have seen a motor-car or train, and while he was busy sampling these delights of the West we were busy counting the chances of a return visit to Bhutan. We were not to be disappointed. And so it came about that in the first week of October of 1935, we left Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, on our 201-mile journey through Southern Tibet into Bhutan.

Everything had to be taken with us, down to the last blanket and the last roll of butter, and our baggage train of more than fifty mules were scarcely adequate to carry the vast volume of food and luggage—not to mention the quantity of presents for those important personages whom we would meet on the way, which alone required the services of two mules to carry them.

The trade route from Lhasa in Tibet to North-East India crosses the frontier by one of two passes. These are the Nathu La and Jelap La. We crossed by the Nathu La at a height of 14,500 feet, and the view we saw from the top as we looked down on the hills of Tibet and Bhutan was one of the most remarkable of the whole trip. For the next three days our cavalcade made its way along the beautiful Chumbi Valley till at 14,000 feet once again we came out on the Phari Plain with Chomo Lhari, the sacred mountain, rising up for 10,000 feet out of the middle of the plain to a height of

24,000 feet. As it starts at such a great height it is snow-covered almost to the foot.

In its shadow lies the town of Phari. This, I believe, is the highest town in the world; it is probably the coldest and certainly the dirtiest. As there is no vegetation of the Tibetan plain there is no fuel except yaks' dung. Consequently for the greater part of the year it is far too cold for the people to remove their clothes, which seem both by sight and smell to remain on until they are worn out.

There are no drains and all refuse is thrown on the narrow streets. These, after many years of this treatment, have risen far above the level of the doors of the houses. In fact, you have to descend several steps to enter them. Dead dogs and other animals are left in the streets unburied, but fortunately, owing to the cold dry air, they do not become as unpleasant as might be expected.

We were now only three miles from the Bhutan frontier, which is crossed at a height of 16,500 feet by the Tremo La. At this height you begin to feel the rarity of the atmosphere, if indeed you have not felt it before. Though it caused us little inconvenience, unless you are well acclimatized it is extremely difficult to walk for long uphill.

Wrapped in every garment we could find, with our faces plastered in that horrible yellow cream which alone seems to keep your face on the front of your head, we set off for the top of the pass which, as always in this part of the world, was marked by a large heap of stones. This is made by Buddhist travellers, who will always add a stone to it as a thank-offering to the gods for their safe arrival. The cold on the top of the pass was frightful, but all thoughts of discomfort were driven from our minds by our first view of Bhutan. It seemed that we gazed down upon the promised land. On one side of the pass lay Tibet bleak and treeless, ravished by an icy wind, while now before us, bathed in sunshine, lay the glorious wooded hills and valleys of Bhutan.

Below the pass, Raja Dorji, a kind of Prime Minister of Bhutan, was waiting to welcome us. When meeting visitors in this part of the world a delightful custom is observed. Both parties will exchange scarves. For this purpose long white silk scarves are carried and are exchanged with a great flourish. On our third day in Bhutan we came to what must be one of the most remarkable buildings in the world—Tak Thsang monastery, or the Tiger's Nest, Shangri La—this we could see from the bottom of the valley several thousand feet above us. It is perched on a ledge of rock cut into the face of a perpendicular cliff some 2,000 feet high. According to local tradition, the founder of the Lamaistic religion in Bhutan, who was called Guru Rimpoche, first visited the country riding on a tiger, and round the cave in which he dwelt this monastery was constructed. It must have required immense labour to build it, for after a three-mile climb from the bottom of the valley the only approach for the last half-mile is by a narrow ledge little more than a yard wide running along the face of the cliff.

The head Lama was waiting to conduct us round the monastery. Here we explored the little shrines which were fitted into the recesses under the overhanging rocks, and looked out over the small balconies which hung out

over the cliff. Yet perhaps one of the most extraordinary features of the whole place was the caretaker, who had a goitre so enormous that it hung down on his chest the size of a football.

We were now only eight miles from Paro, the objective of our journey and the home of the Paro Penlop, the greatest chieftain in Bhutan after the Maharaja. The latter lives away in Eastern Bhutan, and unfortunately we had not time to visit him.

One amusing incident deserves mention, as it will give you some idea of how easy it is to get caught out by thinking you are really away from civilization in these distant lands. The presents which we had brought for the Paro Penlop included a small Kodak camera and a pair of field-glasses, which, though not the best that money could buy, would, so we thought, be a fascinating novelty for one so far removed from the amenities of our Western civilization. But as we rode along the line of wondering villagers on our entry to Paro we saw to our horror the figure of the Paro Penlop observing our arrival through a pair of the largest and most expensive Zeiss field-glasses. Our discomfort was further increased when the Penlop began to take photographs with one of the most expensive cameras on the market. A hurried rearrangement of presents was of course necessary, and those brought for the less important personages had to be brought out for the Penlop himself.

When we got back to Darjeeling three weeks after we had left, it seemed that we had been to another world. For Bhutan is still run on feudal lines. The baron or jongpen, as he is called, lives in his fort or jong, with the huts of the villagers clustered under the walls, behind which they can take refuge in time of war. Dancers and jesters still entertain the noble lords and payment for services is mostly rendered in kind. The baron's private warriors are armed with bows and arrows, shield and steel helmets, and live with him inside the castle. Paro Jong contained not only a barracks but a monastery as well behind its walls.

How long the Bhutanese will be able to continue their isolationist policy cannot be predicted with safety. In that part of Western Bhutan which we visited the people appeared to be most unhealthy, and in the Paro Valley especially the percentage of the population that suffered from goitre was really appalling. The general ill-health combined with the effects of the Lamaistic religion, which imposes a monastic life on a great proportion of the young men, are together seriously depleting the population.

In consequence the great bulk of the country is quite undeveloped, and though this adds greatly to the beauty of the scenery it does not prevent the industrious Nepalese from demanding admittance. Already the Bhutanese have had to allow them to settle in the southern part of the country, where the Nepalese have opened up the country and now contribute a large share of the state revenue. For, unlike the windswept plains of Tibet, the sheltered valleys of Bhutan are very fertile. The tree line goes up to some 13,000 feet and rice grows at 9,000 feet. After travelling through one fertile valley after another untouched by the hand of man, with no sign of any human habitation, we could not help wondering how long the Bhutanese would be able to keep their envious neighbours away from those preserves

which they had not the population to make use of themselves. But today to those fortunate to be invited there Bhutan offers beauty and romance that exists nowhere else in the world.

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER : Before we separate I am sure you would like to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Davie for showing us his most excellent and enchanting film, and also for the very amusing and interesting way in which he introduced it. It has been a great treat and a very enjoyable ending to a most enjoyable afternoon, which we owe, as I have said already, to the kindness and hospitality of Lady Bennett, who will now say one or two words to us.

LADY BENNETT : I feel that very little thanks is due to me because we have enjoyed the afternoon so intensely that I feel I am rather indebted to those who prepared it for us.

But I feel that it was a right and proper thing that the East India Association should be the first body to give a hearty welcome to Sir John Anderson on his return to England. (Applause.) As a humble member of that Association, I have through its medium, as well as through other sources, watched the work that Sir John Anderson has done in Bengal. All of us who love India and who love the Empire must feel that in doing honour to him today we are doing honour to a man whose name is great. He has in his wonderful administration in Bengal shown to the whole of India that where love, justice, and firmness go hand in hand the Indian will always respond and co-operate and come half-way to meet those who are trying to make his land a better country than it has been in the past.

India is a great country. She is advancing and will advance on constitutional lines, I feel quite sure. Sir John Anderson has made such a name in Bengal that India will soon know that Bengal can take the lead; where in the past she has taken the lead perhaps in terrorism and horror, she will take the lead now in the furtherance of peace and economic and constitutional advance.

Many names are inscribed on the pages of history in connection with England and India, and I know that Sir John's name will take its place in history as well as in the hearts of the people of Bengal.

I am very glad that you have come in such large numbers this afternoon to do honour to him. With our whole hearts we thank him for the past and look forward to even greater things from him in the future. (Applause.)

TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA: THE KING- EMPEROR'S FUND

IN a letter published in *The Times* on February 17 Lord Halifax, Lord Willingdon, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst (ex-Viceroy), Lord Zetland and his predecessor in the Secretaryship of State for India (Sir Samuel Hoare), Sir Firozkhan Noon, High Commissioner for India, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, former holder of that office, announced the extension to this country of the appeal launched in India at the beginning of December by Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow on behalf of a Fund to combat tuberculosis in India. By permission of His Majesty the Fund, which is intended to commemorate his accession to the Throne, is known as the King-Emperor's Fund. The distinguished signatories of the letter wrote:

We are anxious to commend the scheme to your readers and, in particular, to those who have ties with India and are able to appreciate the urgency of the cause for which we plead. Until recently the activities of public health workers in India have been directed chiefly against such diseases as leprosy, cholera, smallpox and plague, and it is only within the past few years that close attention has been directed to the more insidious and no less deadly menace of tuberculosis. Its ravages in the cities of India are perhaps already only too familiar; but medical men are now becoming convinced that it is increasing in the rural areas to an alarming degree and that it already threatens to become a more formidable enemy than cholera, smallpox, or even malaria as a cause of disablement and death.

A consideration which encourages us to add this appeal to the many which are made here is that in the United Kingdom tuberculosis has been steadily and rapidly diminishing during the past sixty years. It would indeed be a tragedy if we, who are in the happy position of seeing the steady decline of tuberculosis in our own country, remained indifferent to its inroads on the health and strength of our fellow-citizens in India.

The purpose of the Fund is to establish and finance an All-India Association for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis. The association will consist of a central organization with local branches; it will not supplant but will extend the existing preventive and curative work sponsored by central and provincial public health authorities.

In India the response to the appeal has already been most encouraging, and we feel that an opportunity to assist should be given to all those in this country who have the interest of India at heart.

The High Commissioner is promoting an appeal through committees of the various societies connected with India. The object of this letter is to bring it to the notice of a wider public. Donations should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. R. R. Birrell, the manager of the Imperial Bank of India, whose address is 25, Old Broad Street, London, E.C. 2.

The High Commissioner for India has formed a Tuberculosis in India Appeal Committee, which includes representatives of a number of societies and organizations connected with India. At a meeting of the Council of the East India Association on February 8 the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, was appointed to represent the Association on the Committee, and it was agreed that a printed appeal for support to be issued by the Committee should be distributed to members of the Association in this country. The appeal and other information on the subject may be usefully supplemented by quotation from the last Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India (Colonel A. J. H. Russell), for it shows that modern conditions have had the effect of seriously increasing the incidence of tuberculosis, and to spread it from the large urban and industrial areas to the agricultural masses. Colonel Russell states:

The distribution and incidence of infectious diseases in India always present complex epidemiological problems because of the variations in the etiological factors which are to be met with in different parts of the country and in different groups of the population. In no instance is this more true than in the case of infection with the tubercle bacillus. Tuberculosis, particularly in its pulmonary form, has markedly increased during the last three decades, especially in the large urban and industrial areas. Only within recent years, however, has the infection begun to spread to the rural villages, this extension of infection being partly caused by the return of infected industrial workers, students, etc., to their ancestral homes and partly to the great development of rapid transport facilities. Some hold that the present degree of tuberculization of the people of India lies midway between that of the virgin African races and the highly urbanized and industrialized European peoples, but whatever may be the extent of infection in that part of the Indian population which lives in town and industrial areas, there seems little doubt that the reaction of the ordinary rural population to infection with the tubercle bacillus is such as is usually associated with primitive races.

In other words, once infection is introduced into the rural villages, it is almost certain to spread rapidly and to cause a heavy morbidity and mortality. This fact has recently been illustrated in striking degree. The Gurkhas who come from the remote state of Nepal show in comparison

with other men of the Indian army a much higher susceptibility to and mortality from tuberculosis. These gallant little soldiers, in other words, are from the tuberculization point of view members of a primitive race, and being completely non-immunized are unable to resist an infection which often proves rapidly fatal. This is to a large extent the position of the great mass of the rural populations of India at the present time, and as there are ominous signs that infection is spreading to and through these rural areas, the time has come when preventive campaigns should be extended to include these areas.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of exactitude morbidity and mortality rates of tuberculosis in rural areas, as few cases are ever seen by a medical officer, and registration lies in the hands of petty village officials who are not competent to arrive at the correct cause of death. The only possible method of making an estimate is to take a proportion of the deaths recorded under such headings as "fevers" and respiratory diseases. It has been variously calculated that from 10 to 20 per cent. of the former group and 20 per cent. of the latter are actually due to pulmonary tuberculosis, and, in some such unsatisfactory fashion, tentative figures may be prepared.

In respect of the rural population, little information of a more exact nature is available, although a few small surveys have been carried out during recent years in certain urban areas. Similar surveys for sample rural areas will have to be made before preventive campaigns in any province can be suitably planned. One example may be cited; it has been reported that the district of Darjeeling, which is mainly rural and is by no means industrialized, has a tuberculosis death rate second only to Calcutta city in the whole province of Bengal. If this be correct, the position is serious and demands immediate attention. But until verification has been made by careful survey and until similar sample surveys are made in every district it will be difficult to plan effective preventive work. Although in the ordinary village houses may be reasonably spaced out, overcrowding in individual houses often exists to a marked degree, while other factors, such as the joint family system, early marriage, the *purdah* system, etc., are common to both urban and rural population and tend to favour dissemination of infection once it is introduced within the household. Investigations have already shown that in 50 per cent. of the cases there is a history of contact with another case in the family, and, when a system of home visiting of patients is developed, a much higher percentage of contact cases will almost certainly be made evident.

THE INDIA MUSEUM AT SOUTH KENSINGTON

THE Council of the East India Association, at the instance of the India Society, took up in the autumn the question of the future of the India Museum at South Kensington. At a meeting of the Council on October 19 last a letter was read from Sir Francis Younghusband, Chairman of the India Society, enclosing a copy of a letter he had addressed to Sir Findlater Stewart, the Under-Secretary of State for India, dated October 20, in which he stated:

"I write to call your attention to what I believe to be the urgent need for taking steps to prevent the maturing and acceptance of proposals which would imperil the future of the India Museum at South Kensington.

You will recall that in my letter of May 6 I emphasized the importance not only of maintaining the Museum, but of making considerable additions thereto, and if possible enlarging the existing accommodation, or providing room for it elsewhere.

You are aware that the collections originally brought together by the East India Company were in some measure dispersed soon after the building of the India Office, and that that was an action which has never ceased to be deplored by students of Indian culture. But there has remained in the India Museum a substantial nucleus for the study under one roof of various manifestations of Indian civilization at the heart of the Empire.

There are now definite indications that the future of the Museum is not secure. We would point out that apart from a small and unrepresentative collection in the department of ethnography at the British Museum, the India Museum is the sole repository of Indian culture in the centre of the Empire. Its value is twofold: firstly, as an educational centre, and, secondly, as a sign of the esteem which Indian culture has won for itself in the West.

Educationally it must play an important part in the proper training of I.C.S. probationers and Indian Army cadets. It would also be made great use of by commercial firms in the training of their employees, for in future our commerce with India will rest increasingly on understanding and goodwill. With no India Museum in London, this education for understanding and goodwill would be impossible. We understand, furthermore, that the teaching now to be given in Indian architecture and art at London University would also necessarily cease for want of a centre.

Pressure of space and want of funds no doubt present a difficult problem, but we are convinced that with some necessary improvements the present building could be made to serve until better times.

Some thirty years ago a proposal of a similar kind as at present for dispersal of the collection was made. It had the strenuous opposition of men

of scientific and artistic distinction under the leadership of the late Lord Curzon, and fortunately the plan was not proceeded with. It is now being revived at a time when the opportunities of the Indian Museum for educational purposes and cultural studies have entered upon a new era of usefulness. I need not trouble you at this stage with details, but the India Society could, if desired, place before you impressive facts on this head.

The growth of Nationalist opinion in India is accompanied by an ardent pride in her ancient culture, and it is certain that any plan which would have the effect of lessening the opportunities provided in the metropolis of the Empire for the study of that culture would have the effect of being much resented. I can write with recent personal experience, for when I was in India last spring I had constant evidence of Indian gratification at the signs of a revival in this country of appreciation of that culture. I was also impressed with evidence of present-day revival of culture in India.

In these circumstances I write as Chairman of the India Society to make an earnest appeal for the matter to be investigated fully, and for the India Office to make such representation to the Board of Education, the British Museum, and other authorities concerned as may be necessary, and for the matter to be regarded as one of urgency.

The Council of the Association, on considering the foregoing communication, instructed the Hon. Secretary to write to the Under-Secretary of State for India supporting the representation made by the India Society. In the course of his letter, dated October 20, he wrote :

The East India Association can approach this matter on more general grounds than those of the India Society, which is concerned only with the encouragement and appreciation of Indian art and culture. In the past seventy years it has been the aim of the East India Association to promote good understanding between India and England, and it is on that ground that my Council would view with the deepest regret any step that might further reduce the far from adequate facilities for the study of Indian culture in London. The maintenance in the metropolis of a museum in which India can be studied comprehensively both ethnographically and culturally, and light can be thrown on her historical development and present importance, is held by us to be a continuing necessity. It is the concern not of the artist or the scholar alone, but of all who value the British and Indian partnership, that there should exist in London an institution where British and Indian subjects of the Crown may have before them material for the study of India's past, with a view to assisting her development in the future. The existing India Museum at South Kensington, together with the India Section at the Imperial Institute, may not completely fulfil this great aim, but clearly the collection provides an invaluable nucleus for a still more comprehensive museum devoted exclusively to India and Burma. The closing down of the India Museum, and/or the dispersal of the bulk of its collections, would be

a most retrograde step, deplored by the students of her culture and strongly resented by the best Indian opinion.

For these reasons the Council associate themselves most heartily with the request preferred by the India Society that steps should be taken to prevent any action inimical to the India Museum and its development. Since many of the objects maintained there were originally the property of the East India Company and were vested in the Secretary of State for India after the passing of the Act of 1858, it is respectfully suggested that consideration should be given to the legal rights in this matter of the Secretary of State for India and/or the High Commissioner for India, with a view to giving added weight to the representations which the India Office may make in the appropriate quarters on the subject.

The foregoing letter was acknowledged by the Under-Secretary of State on October 22, with an intimation that the relevant Department (the Board of Education) was being consulted. Meanwhile the Association sought and obtained the support of the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the School of Oriental Studies, and they each made representations on similar lines from their respective points of view.

A suggestion that matters might be placed before the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education was answered to the effect that the future of the Indian collections was receiving only very tentative consideration as part of the larger problem of the future development of the various institutions and museums in South Kensington. It was added that the Board would bear in mind the views held by the Council, and would certainly give them an opportunity of stating these views before coming to any final decision affecting the Indian collections. An inter-departmental Committee was appointed, at the instance of Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, and as a result of full investigations of the subject a decision guaranteeing the future integrity of the Museum was reached. The societies which had made representations each received a letter from Sir Findlater Stewart, Under-Secretary of State for India, dated January 4, and in the following terms:

I am glad to be able to inform you that the Office of Works have planned the development of the Victoria and Albert Museum Quadrilateral in such a way as to give more museum space than they had originally thought possible, and have been able to find room for housing suitably the whole of the Indian Collections in the Quadrilateral.

In acknowledging with thanks on January 7 this intimation the Hon. Secretary wrote to Sir Findlater Stewart :

It will be a source of keen satisfaction to the President and the Council of the Association to know that the arrangements which are now to be made in connection with the reconstruction planned at South Kensington will provide adequate space for the India Museum to be maintained in its full integrity in the Quadrilateral. This satisfaction will be linked with gratitude to the Secretary of State for the representations the India Office has made with such good effect to the President of the Board of Education.

We may at a later date have occasion to draw attention to certain matters of important detail in connection with the rehousing of the Museum.

The Council of the Association concurred in a proposal to set up a Joint Committee of representatives of the various societies with a view to such concerted action as may be thought necessary. It has been formed with the title of the "Joint Committee on Indian Art and Culture" to examine the facilities existing in this country for the study of Indian art and culture, with special reference to the public collections of Indian objects, and to make suggestions and recommendations thereon to the proper quarters. At its first meeting, on January 21, the Committee was installed by Lord Amulree, Chairman of the Council of the Royal Society of Arts, and Sir Francis Younghusband, Chairman of the Council of the India Society, was elected to the Chair.

The representatives of the Association on the Joint Committee are Sir James MacKenna and Mr. F. J. P. Richter. The representatives of other societies are, in addition to Sir Francis Younghusband, Professor R. L. Turner (Director of the School of Oriental Studies), Mr. John de La Valette, Sir Harry Lindsay, Mr. F. H. Andrews, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, and Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

THE WORKING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN INDIA

BY THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, C.H.

LORD MORLEY once said that one of the difficulties which confronted those in public life who had to speak publicly about India was that they had to keep time in two different hemispheres. Anybody who has had the advantage that I have just had of spending eight weeks travelling through the length and breadth of India, talking to members of all parties, of all the communities, to British Indians, and Princes and subjects of the Indian States, and then comes back here and finds that public opinion—rightly and inevitably—is almost wholly preoccupied with the international situation in Europe and the Far East, cannot fail to realize how difficult it is to say anything which will really mean the same thing in India on the one side and in Great Britain on the other.

The difficulty is increased when you realize my purpose in going to India. I had been to India three times before and had made a very large number of acquaintances among all communities in India, both while I was there and while I was a member of the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee. I went to India mainly to find out how the new Constitution was working and what were the prospects for federation. But while my primary task was to find out what Indian opinion and British official opinion felt about it, there were two other factors which had necessarily to be taken into account in arriving at a judgment. One was what may be called the facts, because public opinion in all countries tends at any particular moment to ignore facts which sooner or later it has got to take into account; and in the second place I had, so far as I was able, to remain faithful to what seemed to me the fundamentals of constitutional principle. Therefore, what I say today is the result of an attempt both to understand opinion in India, to keep a clear hold on

facts, and at the same time not to lose a grip on what seem to me the basic principles of constitutional government.

I am going to discuss the provincial autonomy, because that is the only part of the Indian Constitution which is now in operation. The Federation, which will come later on, is not yet in operation: and while there are strong opinions in India about the Federation, it is not yet in any way possible to speak about it from the standpoint of experience.

Provincial autonomy, which means the transfer of responsibility for the provincial sphere of government under the Constitution to Ministries responsible to legislatures, elected by more than 30 million voters in British India, must be discussed in two rather different groups. On the one hand you have the seven Provinces which are controlled by Congress Governments, on the other hand you have the four Provinces which are controlled by composite Governments, mainly supported by the Muslim parties and with Muslim Prime Ministers.

The problem of those two groups of Provinces is quite different. In the Congress Provinces you have got a large homogeneous majority in the legislature, and a coherent ministerial party, with a clear-cut programme, anxious to carry it out as fast as they possibly can, and therefore more likely to come into conflict with the special responsibilities which are vested in the Governor. In the case of the non-Congress Provinces you have as a rule Ministries which consist of the representatives of groups. For instance, in the Punjab, there is the main Muslim block, a Hindu block and a Sikh block. Therefore Government policy is limited or restrained by the necessity, which always faces the Ministry, of having to secure agreement among diverse elements in the legislature and within itself who are often not animated by at all the same views about the controversial matters which come before them for solution. In those Provinces there is not only much less likelihood of serious conflict with the Government, but the inherent difficulties in rapid and vehement progress in reform legislation are very much greater. That is why, while in all of the Provinces you find Ministries dealing with the same kind of problems, the vehemence of political controversy and action in

the Congress Provinces is very much greater, because there is an absolute majority with a clear-cut programme.

RURAL POLICY

The problems which on the whole the Provincial Governments are dealing with may be, I think, summarized under the following heads.

First of all, there is the universal attempt to lessen the grinding poverty of large sections of the village population. Though the rates differ in different parts of India, there is a large part of the agricultural labouring population in the villages which does not earn more than 2½d. or 3d. a day, and the women, when they go out to work in the fields, may not earn more than 1d. to 1½d. a day. When you consider that Indian prices tend now to be related to world prices, you can realize how low a standard of living this represents, how little above—if it is above at all—the minimum subsistence level it must be, at any rate in the case of people who have anything like large families. Now that democracy has begun, the desire by some means or other to raise the standard of living, to lift from the villages the crushing poverty which afflicts a considerable proportion of their inhabitants, has become perhaps the most dynamic motive which animates all the Provincial Governments.

One means of doing this is the attack on what is, perhaps, the most ancient problem in Indian agricultural life, the problem of indebtedness. A considerable proportion of the village population in all parts of India is born in debt, remains in debt during the whole of their lives, and dies in debt. The village money-lender is an indispensable element of the village community, because without him the villager could not finance his living throughout the whole year. But the debt evil is one of the most paralysing and poverty-creating factors which presses on village life from one end of India to the other. You will find in all the Provincial Legislatures bills under consideration, or in draft, or with select committees appointed to consider how the problem of debt is to be dealt with.

There is the perennial problem of land revenue, because Indian

villagers, like all other citizens all over the world, want to see taxation reduced to the absolute minimum. The revenue problem is specially difficult today, because the left wing of Congress has for years stimulated the hope in the village population that the advent of a Congress Government would mean not only a reduction or abolition of rent but a reduction in land revenue. In that respect Congress does not differ from most of the left wing parties in all countries in the world who have never held office. One of the most interesting examples I have ever seen of the inexorable operation of the principle of responsibility on Governments who take office was to go round part of the United Provinces with Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then President of Congress, and hear them say to meetings of peasants that if the Congress was to fulfil its programme of reforms the villagers must pay their lawfully assessed land revenue. This was an aspect of their speeches which was greeted with much less enthusiasm than certain other aspects. It just shows that the problems of government look quite different when you are responsible for the consequences and when you are in opposition.

In the zamindari, as opposed to the ryotwari districts, there is universal vehement discussion everywhere, in the first place as to whether the toll or rent taken by the zamindar or taluqdar can be reduced, and secondly as to whether the only solution of the landlord-tenant problem is not the abolition of the zamindari system altogether. I am a landlord myself, and so I have some knowledge of the landlord problem. There is one fundamental difference, speaking generally, between landlordism in India and in this country. Since the enclosures some two centuries ago in this country and the emergence of modern quasi-capitalist farming, the landowner produces two-thirds of the capital necessary for farming. He produces all the fixed capital, the houses, barns, walls, hedges, drainage and so on, and the tenant produces the movable capital, the beasts, the implements, seeds, furniture, and so on. But in India the landlord in by far the greater part of the areas in India owned by landlords supplies practically no fixed capital at all. The fixed capital in the land is very small in any case, except where there is Government irrigation. It is

simply the mud and wattle village houses; and such as it is, it is found by the tenant. The landlord in India, therefore, is in effect in the main a rent collector, and out of the rent he pays the land revenue. If you look at the history of Europe in the last fifty or sixty years, you will find that that system, which used to be widespread and is particularly unpopular where it has been accompanied by absentee landlordism, has been abolished in practically every country from Ireland in the West to Roumania and Poland in the East, either by tremendous compulsory reductions in the rents paid or the areas owned by landlords, or by the removal of the landlords altogether by some degree of purchase.

The *locus classicus* was land purchase in Ireland before the war, whereby the landlords were bought out on the credit of the British Government and the land was given to the tenants in effect in ownership, subject to their paying very moderate land annuities, which are now in suspense, for a period of forty or fifty years.

The possibility of solving the landlord problem in some such way—a matter of especial importance in Bengal and Bihar, where the permanent settlement exists—is being vehemently canvassed from one end of India to the other. Nowhere has any conclusion been reached in the sense of any legislation being ready to be put on the Statute Book, but in every Province I visited the newspapers were full of discussions on the subject.

PROHIBITION AND EDUCATION

Every one of the Congress Provinces has accepted the principle of prohibition. The basic policy is to save the villager from becoming habituated or involved in the drink habit. The practical problem is twofold. On the one hand, enforcement of prohibition is both difficult and expensive, because experience shows you have either to increase the police or create a special service in order to enforce prohibition according to one of the methods which the United States tried. On the other hand, successful prohibition would deprive the Provinces of one of their most important sources of revenue. The Congress Ministries in every part of India are now grappling with the problems which are

implicit in the decision, which is accepted by the whole Congress party, to put prohibition into force. In practice, I think, in every Congress Province an experiment is being made by bringing prohibition into operation in a single district or commissionership with a view to finding out how the thing can be made to work. In this case also you will find the newspapers in India filled with letters, speeches and discussions both as to the merits and demerits and as to the practicability of prohibition.

There is an apparent determination in all Provinces very largely to increase the provision for elementary education with the object of producing a literate India as soon as possible. Just before I reached India, Mr. Gandhi called a conference at Wardha and set up a Committee which reported while I was there, making proposals for universal education by the most rapid possible route. The basic idea underlying the Wardha scheme was that education in the West is much too literary in character; that it tends to make the individual discontented with his hereditary occupation; that it adds to the white-collared proletariat and makes for social discontent. The Committee therefore considered that elementary education in India ought to be education in handicraft, in the practical village industries in which the individual was likely to have to spend his life; and all the more so in a country where caste is still a strong factor, and people still tend to follow the crafts to which hereditarily they belong. The aspect of the report which produced the most controversy was the proposal that universal education should be self-supporting. That was recommended on the ground that elementary education could not be rapidly spread all over India if it had to depend on the Governments of the day finding the amount of money necessary for schools, for the payment of teachers, for school books and so on at the present time, and that therefore as far as possible the teachers must not only accept a very low remuneration, but that the students should themselves earn a certain amount by spinning cotton and in other ways, and the proceeds should go towards the cost of their own education. There was immense controversy about this proposal. When I was with Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan I heard the students and professors discuss it for several hours.

Another problem which engages the attention of all the Ministries is that of unemployment, especially among the student class. There are in India no less than 100,000 students in universities, which is just twice the number that are to be found in the universities of Great Britain. As the opportunities of employment in business and so on in India, despite its much larger size, are probably very considerably less than in this country, you can see what a problem it is to find employment for the 100,000 students who are regularly and steadily passing through the universities of India at this time. It is urgent not only from the point of view of the students themselves, but because, as all experience has shown, there is no field in which subversive or revolutionary propaganda, whether it comes from the right or from the left, finds a more ready and a more formidable response than among unemployed students. Youth, and especially unemployed youth, has an infinite capacity for responding to idealist appeals, and it is ready, far more ready than middle-aged people like myself, to sacrifice itself for the sake of a cause. But what it lacks is the discretion which comes from experience of life and understanding of the probable consequences of the propaganda to which they may yield their assent. If you will look over the world today, and if you agree that the biggest single disaster that has occurred has been the overthrow of free institutions and their suppression by absolute dictatorships, whether they are Communist or Fascist dictatorships, I think you will agree that the agency which has been used to create these one-party dictatorships has been youth responding to the appeals, dramatic and full of mass suggestion, of dynamic individuals who have swept aside the wisdom and tradition enshrined in the older sections of the population and have created dictatorships dedicated to remaking *man and society on a new and, as most people in this country will think, a less wise and desirable pattern.* Therefore the problem of finding employment for youth in India is a very serious one, and is so regarded, so far as I can make out, by nearly all the Provincial Governments.

DEMANDS OF THE ELECTORATE

One great and healthy change which you find everywhere you go is that India today is no longer almost wholly preoccupied, as it has been for the preceding eight years, with the Britain *versus* India question. Not that India is not deeply concerned with the problem of Federation, which of course raises that issue; but she is also zealously discussing the ways and means of remedying the grievances, real or fancied, and of fulfilling the aspirations which well up from the mass of the people. The older Government of India, the bureaucratic Government of India, was concerned with administration, with slowly reforming patent and ascertainable evils dealing with debt, with railways and irrigation, with law and order. It was almost certainly unduly cautious and conservative, especially in economic matters. At any rate, in the eyes of my Indian friends of the Congress persuasion, those would have been the adjectives which they would have applied to the old bureaucratic Government. Today you have the natural result of democratic institutions, which is a vehement and formidable welling up from the electorate of the demand that the poverty and the evils from which they have suffered in the past, and of which they have only recently begun to think might be remediable by their own action, should be removed; that reforms should be brought into being which will give them a higher standard of living and increase their liberty. The consequence has been that in most of the Provinces, the new Governments, as far as I could judge, were attempting to compress into a very short space of time a programme of reform which in the ordinary course of events would have taken years. That is inevitable: it is a testimony to goodness of heart. But the result was that most of the Ministries seemed to me to be heavily overworked. The Prime Ministers certainly were overworked, and the senior Civil Servants, who had to draft the bills and bring home to the Ministers the practical consequences of the ideas they wanted to carry into effect, were certainly overworked also. The situation reminded me of what happened to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on Labour coming into office, when he thought nothing of taking on

the Prime Ministership and the Foreign Secretaryship, with the result that in eighteen months he was completely worn out. That is the position of a good many of the Congress Governments. Their zeal for reform is ahead of their capacity to get it through the legislature or even to formulate it in practical legislative form.

MINISTERS AND THE SERVICES

I do not think anybody can go through India today without being impressed by the good relations between the Civil Service and the Ministers. There have been difficulties, of course. But when you consider that Congress has been a non-violent revolutionary conspiracy for nearly eighteen years, when you consider that the Civil Service, acting under the instructions of the Governors and Viceroys, have put in gaol no less than 100,000 people for deliberate breaches of the law prompted by the desire for immediate self-government, and when you find these two sets of people working together in harmony, not by any means always agreed, but disagreeing with good temper and working together, it constitutes, in my view, an astonishing testimony to the good sense and goodwill of both sides. I think it is the most hopeful single augury for the future.

It is becoming true, I think, in India as it has become true in every other Dominion of the British Commonwealth, that the Ministers, once they come into office, become the best friends of the Civil Service, for the reason that they find that the only way in which they can carry out their reforms is through the agency and with the help of the Civil Service itself, and that they get loyal help from the Service in unstinted degree. One very distinguished Civil Servant said something which I thought was very revealing. He said, "There are some great advantages about this new system from my point of view. In the old days, I used to go home at night, worried and anxious as to the practical consequences of some of the orders I had passed during the day. The responsibility was really on my shoulders, and very often those orders were passed in very difficult political circumstances. Today my responsibility is still great. My responsibility

is to the best of my ability to inform my Ministers of what I believe may be the consequences of their proposed action: to give them all the facts and the best advice I can give; but having done that I can go home to sleep, while the responsibility for final decision is theirs, and they are going to spend the sleepless nights thinking what the consequences of their policy will be!" That, of course, is the secret of the system of responsible government, which has worked such miracles from one end of the British Commonwealth to the other, and which I believe is going to work miracles in India also.

THE LEFT WING

One of the most difficult problems which confronts the Provincial Ministries has been what I may broadly speaking call the left wing—i.e., that section of Congress which is either genuinely Marxist or is vehemently and revolutionarily Nationalist. For fifteen or eighteen years Congress has been engaged in stimulating the mass feeling of the villages and the towns, has been rousing revolutionary feeling with a view of generating the power with which they could gradually or rapidly, as the case might be, take over power from the hands of the British Raj. And now, when the Ministries have taken office against the will of the left wing, the left wing says perfectly frankly, "What are these Ministries doing? They are keeping law and order for the benefit of British and Indian capitalists. That is what they are doing, and at the same time, because they are responsible for law and order, they are driven to prevent us from continuing the very activities which we have been carrying on for years and which we believe are necessary for the attainment of our revolutionary ends."

Every Congress Minister has been up against this problem of their followers on the left, who have been bitterly disappointed and indignant when Congress Governments began to invoke against them the very section of the Penal Code which they had denounced unceasingly as tyrannous and barbarous during the last fifteen years. I believe the most unpopular section is 124A. In the early days of the Congress Governments, especially in the United Provinces—the Province which has been most difficult to

government, where the revolutionary forces were most formidable—there were serious difficulties because some of the enthusiastic young members of Congress used to feel that they were really the Government of the Province and began interfering with land cases and the police and justice. This made very great difficulties for the Civil Service, but even greater difficulties for their own Ministries. But throughout the whole of India there has been a steady increase in the determination of the Provincial Governments to establish their own authority and prevent irresponsible action, and while I was in India, the Working Committee met at Bombay and passed a resolution which, almost without qualification, supported the Provincial Governments in their duty to maintain order, and expressed the strong opinion that subversive activities were inconsistent with the Congress creed of non-violence and with Congress acceptance of Provincial office.

In all the Provinces there is the keen determination both of the leaders and of public opinion to use the Provincial Autonomy Constitution for all it is worth to bring into operation reforms, to some of which I have referred. In the Congress Provinces there is also the determination to prove to public opinion in India and elsewhere that Congress is not a mere revolutionary conspiracy, but a body capable of maintaining good government in India. If they can do this they are obviously going to be in a far stronger position when they have to deal with the issues which will arise when the question of Federation comes to the front.

So far as British India is concerned, there are in effect only two main parties. One is the Congress Party, which governs seven Provinces out of eleven: the other is the Muslim League. The Congress Party contains within its ranks an extraordinary diversity of opinion. You have got the extreme Marxist left, which is convinced that capitalism has reached its final crisis, that it cannot solve the contradictions latent within itself, that the world will proceed from one revolution to another, from one war to another, until the day when the proletariat will awake to the fact that there can be no order, prosperity or freedom in the world except by establishing by revolutionary violence the Communist system

as inaugurated in Russia—though not necessarily in the Stalinite way. You have a strong body of opinion in the towns with young Brahmin and Muslim supporters which holds that view and looks forward to the day when, as a result of explosions which will begin in the outside world, India will establish her complete independence and start life afresh as a Socialist State. You have also within Congress very powerful capitalist elements of the traditional kind—millowners, Bombay and Calcutta financiers, landowners—the elements which in the past have financed its operations very largely, and which are bitterly opposed to the Marxist creed.

MR. GANDHI'S INFLUENCE AND IDEALS

But you have as the still dominant force, as dominant I should say as ever, the point of view represented by Mahatma Gandhi and his friends. You cannot imagine anything more remote than Mr. Gandhi's ideals, at any rate for village India, than those of the Communist or extreme Marxist. Today Mr. Gandhi's main interest, as far as one can judge, is in saving the villages of India from becoming geared into Western industrial civilization in such a way as to mean the decanting of perhaps one hundred millions out of the three hundred millions in the villages of India into the most terrible slums in the world, in Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore and other industrial cities, and in setting them on a different road.

His ideal is something entirely different both from socialism and capitalism. His view is that Western civilization has gone astray, not in inventing machinery or discovering natural science, but in falling in love with the results. Because we now have machines which enable us to multiply things and transform indefinitely the material surroundings of our life, Western civilization is now obsessed mainly by the urge to get more and more and more possessions. That surrender to the desire for more and more things—more food, more clothes, more houses, more motor-cars, more movies, more news, more speed—as all the greatest religious teachers have always said, does not bring salvation or happiness. It makes rather for greed and estrangement between

individuals, between classes and between nations. Gandhi considers that the plight of the West is fundamentally due to that surrender; that fundamentally socialism does not differ from capitalism, because while socialism proposes to produce and distribute collectively, which may have some advantages, it also is dominated by the desire to have more things, while the only way in which socialism in practice can be carried into effect almost inevitably involves a suppression of human individuality and human initiative, without which any true, free society is impossible.

Therefore he puts before India as the basis of its future life, at any rate so far as the villages are concerned, the ideal of the deliberately simple life, the simple life in which all sorts of pleasures begin to appear which pass out of view when you are chasing speed and time as fast as you can, and which once it is re-established will make it possible for religion—to which Western people give less and less time—for acquaintance with the infinite to come back into our lives. He founds his hopes for India on a reformed village.

His method is on the one hand to break down untouchability in the village, for there can be no real community unless the children can play together; to introduce sanitation, maternity welfare, pure water and so on; to base education on the crafts rather than on literature, though reading, writing and arithmetic would be a part of it; to improve the technique of agriculture so as to increase the productivity of the village, which today is very low; and so raise the standard of living to the necessary minimum for the simple life. Finally, he would introduce village handicraft industries, first and foremost spinning of cotton cloth; secondly, *sugar-making from palm toddy*; thirdly, *the transformation of all dead animals into leather or bones and so on*; fourthly, *paper-making*; and fifthly, other industries so that the village not only will be a homogeneous community but will be self-supporting and so cease to be dependent on the great factory industries for the essentials of its own living. His dream is that the Indian village will resist that creed of more and more and more which has captured the West; that he will be able to save the three

hundred millions of its inhabitants from industrialization and turn them instead into happy, contented, simple-minded people, and so preserve the traditional culture of India in a purified form, an oasis of happiness in a world maddened by machinery and speed.

You can see how difficult it is going to be to get unity of policy between what you might call Mr. Gandhi's policy, at any rate for village India, and the view of a man like Jawaharlal Nehru—who thinks the standard of living can only be increased by grouping the villages into great collective farms on the Russian model, and by covering India with gigantic factories and gigantic modern housing schemes—to say nothing of the ordinary capitalist's view. Thus the differences in policy which are latent in Congress are extremely wide. But in my view there is no likelihood of anything like a split in Congress unless two things happen. As long as Mr. Gandhi is alive, he will tend to rule and unite it. I do not think there is any real diminution of his authority or influence in India. The other thing which keeps Congress united is the fact that the movement for Swaraj has only got half-way. Provincial autonomy only gives to the representatives of the Indian people control over the provincial sphere of powers. There is still the whole set of powers involved in the Central Government of India—finance, the tariff, foreign policy, defence—the relationship, if you like, with the Indian States. The responsibility for all these matters is still in the hands of Great Britain, and that responsibility Congress wants transferred to Indian shoulders. One of Congress's principal difficulties is that while with one hand it is maintaining order in the provincial sphere, it is inevitably having to keep alive the nationalist agitation with the other hand, with a view to its eventual march on the centre, if and when Federation comes into being.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The second great political party in British India is the Muslim League. This organization is the only other All-India party. The Sikhs only operate in the Punjab, and the other minorities represented in the legislatures can wield little real political power.

The Muslims, I found, were profoundly disturbed from one end of India to the other. Though under the new Constitution they were given in effect control of four Provinces and had separate electorates and had weightage in the other Provinces, the advent of Congress to power in most of British India made them feel for the first time what it was to be a minority in Provinces in which political responsibility had passed out of the hands of Great Britain into that of the Hindu majority. They had become acutely aware of the rising tide of Hindu rule, and that produced a consolidation of political opinion and the political organization in India. There used to be two main Muslim parties. They are now united in the Muslim League under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. I can give you one minor illustration of the way in which communal feeling has recently revived. When I was at Allahabad—which is perhaps the central home of Congress Nationalism at present, or at any rate last year, so long as the then President of the Congress, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, lived there—I asked Mr. Nehru whether I could go out and see a Congress meeting in the villages. He very courteously said, "Of course"; and in due time I went out in a car with Mrs. Naidu, with Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Ministers in cars ahead. We had not gone more than a few miles out of Allahabad when we found the road was blocked by a Muslim demonstration carrying dark green flags, and on those flags were slogans decrying Congress and upholding the Muslim League. The leaders of the Congress Party tumbled out of their cars and had long conversations—I thought very friendly on both sides—with the leaders of the Muslim delegation. Mrs. Naidu, who is nothing if she is not a conversationalist, conducted a conversation with at least ten people at the same time through the windows of my car, also extremely friendly. After a time the thing ended, and we went along to our meeting, where I heard Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while expounding to some extent the evils of British Imperialism, also ending all their speeches by saying, "Mind you pay your rent." That shows that the Muslims are by no means extinct as a political party.

Today communal feeling in the political sense of the word—

though possibly not in the old temple music and cow-killing sense—is probably as strong as it has been for many years in India, though there are conversations going on as to the possibility of an agreement between the Muslim League and Congress. The Muslim League have also accepted nationalism sufficiently to put a qualified independence for India in the forefront of their programme. Meanwhile, the Muslim League is strongly united and organizing itself to fight its political opponents on every practical front.

THE PARTY SYSTEM

There is one other aspect of provincial autonomy which kept presenting itself to my mind. It is an axiom with us that democratic institutions will only work if you have at least two parties. My own view is that they work far better under a two-party system than any other. The great argument for democracy is that it enables the people, when they are tired of a government, to change it without a revolution, and the easiest way to change it is if there is an alternative government to put into power. To-day that situation does not exist, as far as one can see, in any Province in India. In the non-Congress Provinces communal organization and separate electorates make it difficult for the Parliamentary system to function, because the electorate is divided into groups which elect their own communal members. In the case of the Congress Provinces there is no effective opposition to the Congress party itself, and Congress has often been very intolerant of political opposition. The only place where there was any possibility of an opposition Government appearing seemed to me to be in Madras, where the Justice party, which ruled the Provinces for some years and were very badly defeated in the last election, seemed to have hopes of a recovery when the Congress had made itself sufficiently unpopular, but not immediately. The reason for this absence of an opposition is that the British issue is still the dominant issue in the country; that really is the issue as to whether Federation is to be put into force or not, and if so, on what conditions. Until that issue is out of the way the normal alignment of parties based on economic differences will not appear.

The only other point is about the political prisoners. One of the oldest controversies in the British Commonwealth is the degree to which in the early stages of self-government full responsibility should be transferred to Ministries and the degree to which the Governor should exercise over them a veto or controlling force. If you look at the history of Cape Colony or Australia, you will find equivalent disputes of this kind going very far back, and I think the "crisis" which has just arisen has cleared the air and been of benefit to everybody. It has made it clear that the primary responsibility for law and order must rest with the responsible Ministers; that is the key to the whole business. But it has also made it clear that the responsible Ministry must discuss with the Governor each individual case. My own view is that the right course is that in doubtful cases the Governor should leave the responsibility with his Ministers, but warn them of what he believes to be the consequences of their action. If he then finds that he is right and they are wrong, he then is in a position to invoke his special responsibility with a reasonable chance of getting the support of public opinion. I think that it is the lesser evil to run the risks involved in that course than to do anything which will undermine the responsibility of Ministers themselves. Further, I believe that in the future more and more the question of whether or not a Governor can use his special responsibilities will depend on whether his exercise of them commends itself to dispassionate and independent public opinion in the community itself.

Therefore I think that the recent controversy has been useful, just as the discussion as to the meaning of responsible government which preceded the advent of Congress Ministers was useful. I shall be surprised if any new serious problem arises between the Ministries and the Governors until the much more difficult problem of Federation has come to the foreground of discussion.

I do not discuss Federation, partly because that aspect of the Constitution is not yet in force, and partly because I have written on the subject in *The Times*, and there is no time to discuss it now.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING LECTURE

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 8, 1938, when a lecture was given by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian, C.H., on "Impressions of the Working of the Constitution in India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair, and there was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN said: I will preface my brief remarks by making mention of the death of one of our distinguished Vice-Presidents, Sir Harcourt Butler. He had been for a quarter of a century a member of the Association, and was made a Vice-President on his retirement from the Indian Administration. It is exactly two months ago today that he presided at a meeting of the Association, held in honour of Sir John Anderson, who had just returned from Bengal; and now today many of us were present at the memorial service in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

This afternoon we have to welcome here Lord Lothian, who both as Mr. Philip Kerr and Lord Lothian is well known to the general public of this country as having great experience in political life. He requires no words of commendation from my lips. As regards India, he was a member of the Round-Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee, and he was Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee that had to plan a vast increase of the electorate in India.

Having done all this work, he recently made a tour in India to see the political developments and what changes had been effected under the reforms. The visit was much more than one of enquiry; it was in effect a mission of goodwill, and he exercised his influence in the cause of ordered British and Indian co-operation in the great work of raising India to Dominion status on democratic lines and building up her nationality. For this purpose Lord Lothian got in touch with the different leaders of political thought, and he not only visited Government Houses and the palaces of Princes, but he also shared the homely life of Mr. Gandhi in his village home near Wardha. He has come back well equipped with knowledge of what is taking place now in India in the political sphere.

I might say that he is coming to us as a *rapporteur*, and therefore he will probably speak at greater length than is usual. I mention this to save disappointment, because there are many here who would like to take part in a subsequent discussion, but as the meeting must be finished at six o'clock, it may be desirable for the subsequent proceedings to take the form of questions to Lord Lothian.

With those words I beg to call upon Lord Lothian to address us, and to thank him very much indeed for having permitted the Association to arrange for his first public talk on India since his return from that country.

(The lecture was then delivered.)

Mr. LALKAKA: I would like to ask Lord Lothian whether he noticed in the seven Provinces where Congress Ministries were in office that the fundamental basis of democratic government was in imminent danger of being destroyed by an outside, dictatorial coterie—namely, the All-India Congress Committee—constantly attempting to impose its will on those Ministries, and the Ministers themselves showing willingness to submit to its dictation.

Lord Lothian: I think the answer is this. I did not see any evidence of the All-India Congress Working Committee interfering in the responsibility of the Ministries within the strictly provincial spheres. On the other hand, Congress, like the Muslim League, is an All-India movement. It is quite obvious that if and when the Federation comes into being, it will be the Working Committee, or some of its main members, and the members of the Central Executive of the Muslim League, who will presumably be the Ministers at the centre.

Therefore you have today the unnatural, temporary situation, in which two nation-wide movements are only functioning, so far as responsibility is concerned, in the provincial sphere. If you look at Canada, Australia, or the United States, you will find that the political parties which fight provincial or state elections on the one hand, and all-American or all-Canadian elections on the other, are the same parties.

In India the All-India Congress Working Committee is dealing with the All-India aspect of Congress politics, and so far as I can make out is not interfering with the responsibility of the Ministers, so far as their constitutional responsibility for Provincial Autonomy is concerned, though it discusses general policy with them. They are two separate things. And I think you will find, if you look at the proceedings of the Muslim League at Lucknow, that they also took views about All-India politics.

Mr. JAYA DEVA: It seems to me that no policy or event can be judged in a sort of abstract way; it has to be judged in the light of the concrete situation. So though the Congress, when they were in opposition, asked the peasants not to pay rent, or when in the Legislative Assembly they voted against any defence expenditure, it is perfectly legitimate, it seems to me, that when they come into power Pandit Pant and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should ask the peasants to pay rent, or Congress members should approve of strengthening the defence force of India. There is nothing inconsistent in that.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to ask one question. When Federation is accomplished, do you think there will be conflict between the Provincial Governments and the Central Government?

Lord Lothian: The President has asked, if and when the Federation comes into being—I put the “if” in—there would be any conflict between the Provinces and the Central Government.

I do not see any reason why there should be more conflict in India than

there is in other Federations, for the reason that under the Constitution there is an entirely separate set of powers which is discharged by the Provincial Governments on the one side and the Central Government on the other. There is a small group of powers in which both can legislate, and where, if there is a dispute as to which has a prior right, it is either settled by the Supreme Court or by the decision of the Viceroy. But the Provincial Government cannot trench upon the sphere of the Federal Government or *vice versa*. Therefore there is no likelihood of conflict.

Of course, there may be situations like that which arose in the case of the United States over slavery in the Southern States. You can imagine situations in which the policy pursued by certain Provinces may have effects outside their own boundaries—for instance, in communal matters—or may even seriously affect the interests of the Federal Government, in which event some conflict of view might arise between the Provincial Governments and the Centre.

But there are constitutional means of dealing with that situation, and I have never met anybody who thought, if Federation comes into force, that conflicts between the Provinces and the Centre were likely to present a serious difficulty, except that the Provinces would always want more money than the Centre can provide them with.

SIR MALCOLM SETON: I was very much interested in what Lord Lothian said about the new relations between the Civil Service and the Ministers. The Indian Civil Servant seems to be, to some extent, coming to the position of the Home Civil Servant. Instead of having himself to decide on questions of policy, he must advise his Minister, stating his own views frankly. If the Minister does not accept that advice, the Civil Servant has discharged his duty and has no further personal responsibility for the action that is taken. But Lord Lothian's testimony as to the good relations between the Ministers and the higher members of the Services is very gratifying.

However, what has been worrying some of us is the position of the minor district officials, like the lower ranks of the police. Can Lord Lothian tell us whether the village local administration is finding itself again, and the police performing their functions without molestation? That is a point of supreme importance as regards law and order.

LORD LOTHIAN: It is very difficult for me, who had to scurry round India, to have any real evidence on points of that kind. One heard criticisms from both sides. But the impression I got very definitely was that the authority of the Ministry over the administration was consolidating; and that they were resisting more and more interference by unauthorized followers. The fear that had been frequently expressed in the past, that Congress might attempt to break down the administrative structure of India, has proved unfounded. There seemed to be no evidence whatever that that was going on.

In certain Provinces the problem of dealing with the extremer Congressmen was much more acute than in others: but I think what a leading member of the Working Committee said to me is true: "You may take it from me that the primary object of Congress is to prove that they can make

an efficient government of the Provinces. We have to prove that, because we shall be immeasurably stronger for dealing with the problem of Federation in the future if we have done so."

SIR RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR: I should like to take the opportunity of expressing the indebtedness of many of us for the very sympathetic and able manner in which Lord Lothian has surveyed the Indian situation. The masterly survey we have had from him this afternoon is only another illustration of the range of his analytical mind. I remember the previous time Lord Lothian visited India as Chairman of the Franchise Committee, I was in his company going from Province to Province. The rallying cry for the other side was, "Lothian go back!"

With almost everything he has said tonight I am in entire agreement. There is one small point, however, on which I should like to express a certain amount of diffidence. I refer to that point, because not only has he emphasized it tonight, but in the course of his recent letters to *The Times* he laid stress on it. It is a very important point relating to the differences that may possibly arise between Ministries and Governments. Lord Lothian said that if at any time it is necessary for Governors to interfere, it must be under circumstances where the population, which is unprejudiced; which is impartial, will realize that the Governor is right and the Ministers wrong. I entirely agree with that, but I think there is a situation where that may not always be possible. I wish to suggest that there may be occasions when, if a Governor were to overrule his Ministers, it may be possible that, while impartial opinion is really on the side of the Governor, it may not express itself for obvious reasons.

I can understand situations where the Governor has been forced to intervene, where a large body of intellectual and intelligent opinion feels the Governor is right, but in the circumstances, owing to the environment already created, it may not be possible for any section of the community to come forward and express its views quite clearly on the side of the Governor. Therefore I suggest that the broad proposition that the test of the Governor's interference is whether public opinion is on his side has a necessary corollary that on certain occasions it is not possible for the Governor to find that his action—justified as it is by all the canons of law and justice—commands the explicit support of any section of the population. I just wish to enter that caveat.

LORD LOTHIAN: I agree with the qualification Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar has made. One of the difficulties in India is that, for the reasons I gave, in so many Provinces there is really only one party. You will not get the healthy working of democracy until you get at least two parties, because the inevitable consequence of a single party is that that party, whatever it may be, tends to be intolerant and to make it difficult for those who hold contrary opinions to express them freely. That is inherent in the one-party system, as we see clearly in many parts of Europe today. Once the Federal issue is settled, I believe you will get the beginnings of genuine political reform in India, provided the international situation does not upset everything.

Sir MALCOLM SETON : It gives me very great pleasure to move a vote of thanks to my old friend, Lord Lothian, for the exceedingly interesting talk he has given us. We want intensely to know what he thinks about Federation; but we thank him for the very great value and interest of what he has told us of the impressions he has formed during his tour of the autonomous Provinces. We are really grateful to him for coming here and giving us so full and frank an explanation of what he has seen. He has devoted years of study to India, and I feel sure that we have all learned a great deal from his address.

Also I should like to ask you to thank our President, Lord Lamington, for so kindly coming and taking the Chair on this occasion. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN : I thank you for having included me in the vote of thanks. I am proud to be here on this notable occasion. One satisfactory thing was Lord Lothian's reference to the good relations which exist between the Governors and the Civil Service. It means that they have now learnt to regard one another with respect and good feeling.

THE HINDU ALMANAC

BY W. E. VAN WIJK

(Director of the Municipal Museum of Education at The Hague.)

MANY years ago I applied at the office of the library in the British Museum for an entrance card. The gentleman at the desk asked me which subject I wished to go in for. "Hindu chronology," I said. "Good gracious," he replied. And he gave me the ticket.

Ever since I have often had occasion to remember his exclamation; indeed, it proved to be a complicated matter. To the European mind time is materialized in money and the calendar reduced to a simple table of dates—for the Hindus the course of life has remained a reflection of the course of time eternal. In all their actions the calendar regulates their conduct.

The first and incomplete information about a specific Hindu calendar-reckoning dates from 1738, and is due to a Danish missionary, Christopher Walther; it was published, with some mathematical remarks of the great Leonard Euler, as an appendix to a work of Baverus. But it took nearly a century for the scientific world to have a work at its disposal giving first-hand information, collected and published by a man deeply conscious of the importance of chronological study for the understanding of civilization. I refer to "Kala Sankalita (being) A Collection of Memoirs on the various Modes according to which the Nations of the Southern Parts of India divide Time. . . . By Lieutenant-Colonel John Warren: Madras: Printed at the College Press, 1825." The Dictionary of National Biography does not mention this servant of the Company, nor could I find elsewhere any biographical notice about this unassertive student. The following particulars are gathered from the preface of the book itself and from information which I received through the Honorary Secretary of the India Society.

It appears from information supplied by the Public Record Office that the author became an Ensign in the 33rd Regiment of Foot July 29, 1798, was appointed Lieutenant March 9, 1799, and Captain July 3, 1806, in which rank he was transferred to the 56th Foot on December 26, 1811. In the army list of 1819 he is noted as having retired; there is, however, no evidence of his having gone on retired full or half pay, whilst he is called Lieutenant-Colonel on the title-page of his book and even Colonel in the Madras Public Proceedings, Fort St. George, February 25, 1825.

Here we find quoted a letter (No. 23) from the Secretary to the Board of Superintendence for the College, directed to the Chief

Secretary to Government, submitting "proposals relative to Warren's work on the Hindu and Muhammadan methods of computing time." This letter is a highly interesting document; it informs us that the then acting Board was fully conscious of the scientific value of the undertaking, that they expected little appreciation from the Court of Directors—warning the Chief Secretary from a previous reference of their intention to have the book printed—and that they considered Warren as a man of laborious application and talent. We gather also from the same letter that John Warren devoted more than ten years to the work,* that he was in constant communication with Adysashya Sastry, the Hindu astronomer of the College; that Warren received 500 pagodas for the copyright ("a very trifling compensation for the intense labour and research which it has cost the learned author") and another 100 pagodas for expenses in travelling between Madras and Pondicherry, and finally that only 250 copies of the book were struck off at the press, of which "150 were delivered to Colonel Warren to be at his disposal."

This last detail explains the extreme scarcity of available copies now.

In Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. Waugh's Report on the Progress . . . of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, No. 219, of 1851) we find further about Warren the notice: "Belonged to the ancient noblesse of France,† to which country he returned after the peace . . ."

This is practically all I could find about the founder of these studies; I hope that these lines will catch the eye of a reader who can add new material to our knowledge of the history of his life. The principal sources of information about the astronomical conceptions and numerical data of the Hindus are the *Siddhantas*, Sanskrit works in verse of great antiquity. Of the oldest of these, in any case of the most important, a fine translation with excellent notes has been published by the American Oriental Society already as early as 1860; the translation is the work of a missionary, Ebenezer Burgess, the chief commentator Professor Whitney.

This siddhanta, called the *Surya Siddhanta*, professing itself to be revelation of the supreme being, the Sun, and therefore held in high esteem, claims for itself an immense age, but it contains many reminiscences of Greek astronomical science, even in its vocabulary, which do not allow of placing its origin before the first centuries of our era. In its present form it is commonly accepted to date from about the year A.D. 1000.

* General Mackenzie in vol. 58, p. 3 of his MSS: "Capt. John Warren forwards a calendar for 1810 with his improvements."

† Markham's *Memoir on the Indian Survey*, 2nd ed. 1878: "This officer was descended from a noble French family, by the mother's side."

The appearance of this great study gave a new impulse to the study of Hindu astronomy, which till that time still depended on the researches of Bentley, whose work, however valuable, shows too many lacunas, the author disposing of an insufficient amount of data. Within the following thirty years there appeared the studies of Biot, Sachau's translation of Albérûni's *India*, an edition of the *Panchasiddhantika* of *Varaha Mihira*, by Thibaut and M. S. Dividî, to mention only the most important. The Indian calendar was expounded by Hermann Jacobi of Bonn in two important treatises in the first two volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, ed. Hultzsch (1892 and 1893).

The articles of Jacobi, printed in large folio and accompanied by a bewildering amount of numerical tables, are extremely difficult to read; particularly the second goes far beyond the limits of what may be expected of the mathematical interest of lawyers or philologists, who occasionally get to deal with calendaric questions.

At present our chief sources of information about the Hindu calendar are the works of Robert Sewell (partly in collaboration with S. B. Dikshit) and D. B. Swamikannu Pillai. The compilation of their works has involved a tremendous amount of labour. Studying these books as a chronologist, I was struck by the fact that the ways followed to obtain the numerical data of their tables* are not indicated, and in trying to trace them I was forced to the conclusion that none of these authors had followed the exact prescriptions of the *siddhantas*. In a series of articles in the *Acta Orientalia* between 1921 and 1926 I explained an arithmetical method for finding the true values with every desired degree of accuracy, and I am now publishing the first instalment of three-figure tables, which cover only eight pages, allowing one to find the moments of beginning of tithis over a range of several thousands of years, and which I tried to make really comprehensible to anyone who is willing to devote a few hours to read the explanation.

The Hindu calendar is used by the Indian people in the form of *pancangas*, which are yearly printed all over the vast peninsula for numerous localities in every vernacular. A *pancanga*—as the name indicates—is a book containing *five* essential chronological elements—viz., the *vara* or weekday, the *tithi*, the *karana*, the *yoga*, and the *nakṣatra*; the years are counted according to different *eras* and according to a period of (mostly) sixty years, based on the movement of the planet Jupiter. The week is a seven-day week, the day a solar day counted from actual sunrise in true local time to the next sunrise. The *tithi* is a purely astronomical or

* Sewell's tables cover more than 700 great quarto pages; the complete edition of Swamikannu's tables fills 7 strong volumes.

[illegible]

astrological conception, being the time which the moon needs to travel 12 degrees from the sun. As an element of time-reckoning it does not occur in other but Hindu chronology; its duration is never less than 0.896 mean solar days and never more than 1.091 days. This implies that a tithi may begin at any moment of the civil day. A month is the time elapsing between two consecutive New Moons (or between two consecutive Full Moons); its duration is about twenty-nine and a half days. There are always thirty tithis a month, but twenty-nine or thirty sunrises. The civil day of the month obtains a serial number according to the tithi, which is current at sunrise; therefore it happens from time to time that two tithis begin within the space of two consecutive sunrises, and occasionally also that the sun rises twice on one and the same tithi.

In the first case the first of the two tithis, that on which the sun does not rise, cannot convey its serial number to a day, which implies that the counting of the days of the month is interrupted; it is, however, not the day but the tithi which is called expunged. An expunged tithi is generally considered inauspicious. In the second case the tithi conveys its serial number to two consecutive days, which get therefore the same serial number—but again it is the tithi which is called repeated.

In the illustration, which shows a page of an actual *pancanga*, printed at Ahmadabad, we notice that the second tithi is expunged and the fourteenth repeated. The *pancanga* notes that the 13th tithi ends at 56 36; we have read this as 56 *ghatikas* and 36 *palas* after sunrise, or 94 of a day. And this is not even a close case; often only a few *palas* more or less may determine the omission or intercalation of a certain tithi. I cannot enter more fully into the matter through lack of space, but from what I have seen it is already obvious that we have to deal here with a highly complicated chronological system, the complexity of which shows its primitiveness and the importance of studying it for the understanding of the Indian mind and history. The complicated nature of the Hindu lunar-solar calendar is chiefly caused by the fact that it reckons with true movements of moon and sun, and not with mean movements. As far as I know, it is the only example of this type which ever came into use.* Many calendars were based on actual observation; for instance, in the old Jewish civilization, and still in certain *Muhammadian* centres, the month is accepted as beginning with the appearance of the new crescent of the moon in the western sky. But this can hardly be considered a calendar

* In Germany the date of Easter was computed on a purely astronomical basis from 1700 till 1752. The French republican calendar (1792-1805) accepted the day of the astronomical autumnal equinox as New Year's Day. These are the only two examples of astronomical time-reckoning I can furnish besides the Hindu practice.

as it serves a month only. It is impossible to imagine a civilized nation without a calendar which allows of being calculated in advance. A calendar based on mean movements presupposes astronomical observations patiently continued and set down for centuries. But a calendar based on true movements presupposes an astronomical scientific system of such a degree of development that the results of calculations effected according to that system are generally believed to be in accordance with the results of actual observations. Among the Hindus—who as a rule showed themselves poor observers—the results obtained by calculations according to the *siddhantas* had even precedence over actual observation: numerous are the inscriptions stating a certain grant to have been made at the moment of an eclipse of the moon on days which most certainly must have passed without the moon having been eclipsed. An analogous example may be found in the “pascal Full Moon,” which, in the centuries preceding the Gregorian reformation, sometimes was more than three days ahead of an actual moment of Full Moon.

The *Surya-Siddhanta* accepts the planets—and sun and moon are considered planets—to move in circles round the unmoving earth at speeds varying from moment to moment. To explain and calculate these irregular movements it imagines a circle, called *epicycle*, the centre of which moves along the same circle as the planet itself. The speed at which this centre moves is unvarying and equal to the mean time the planet takes for its movement. Round the circumference of the *epicycle* moves a second point at constant speed; its revolution is completed in the mean period of the planet's revolution. There is a difference in principle between the Ptolemaean theory and the conception of the *siddhanta*: Ptolemy makes the planets revolve in the *epicycles*; for the *siddhantas* the *epicycles* are only a means for calculating the true places. Moreover, the dimensions of the *epicycles*, which are constants in the *Almagest*, are subject to contractions and expansions in the course of each revolution in the system of the *siddhanta*. These particulars led Burgess to conjecture an independent original Hindu astronomy.

The angle between the directions towards the planet and towards its mean place is called the *equation of the centre*; this equation is calculated by means of trigonometry in a very peculiar way, requiring the determination of the sine for each angle, the *siddhanta* giving the values of the sine only for multiples of 225 minutes of arc. The weak spot in the existing tables (excepting perhaps Swamikannu's tables) lies now in the determination of the equation of the centre, which is found by means of interpolation between two of the twenty-four equations resulting from the tabular values of the sines. The Hindu sine, however, not

being a continuous function of the angle, such a method does not yield results which are in strict accordance with the prescriptions of the *siddhanta*. I calculated for my tables the values of the equations for every day of the anomalistic month or year, and convinced myself that the values obtained in this way allow of a linear interpolation, using not more than three decimals of a day.

For the Hindu his calendar is of equal importance as it is to the Jew, whose calendar is sometimes called his catechism. A friend of mine wrote to me from India, when I had asked him to send me a *pancanga*, that he could persuade his servant to part with it only with great difficulty, as the man could no more live without it than a European without a toothbrush. I wondered often how such Indians know the civil time of the *tithi*-endings. A Hindu man of science, travelling through Europe, whom I asked about this problem replied that they have the "sense of time" to the second. Though this seemed to me somewhat exaggerated, it is undeniable that a religious veneration of time, piously maintained for at least twenty centuries, cannot fail to cause a notion of time incomprehensible to the European mind.

NOTE (added during correction).—After this article had been written I was informed that Colonel R. H. Phillimore, Survey of India (retired), who is engaged on the preparation of a History of the Survey of India, has collected a full biography of John Warren, which is to appear in due course in the Official Records of that Survey. Although Colonel Phillimore has graciously provided me with ample information concerning the outcome of his studies, I do not feel justified to anticipate his publication.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES*

BY COUNT J. P. VAN LIMBURG STIRUM
(Netherlands Minister in London.)

It is gratifying to note that interest exists in this country for the Asiatic portion of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Such interest is understandable at the present time, when the map of Eastern Asia is no doubt studied by many who were formerly content with mere geographical names, without ascertaining the location of the places to which they refer. British interest is especially welcome to us as it is above suspicion, and it is based on a community of interests. It is reciprocated. Probably nowhere in the world, for example, has the operation of the reforms in British India been studied more closely than in Holland and Java. This is natural, because we are both faced with a similar task. For centuries both our nations have been ploughing the field of colonial administration, and although our methods have differed in accordance with the diversity of the factors which confronted us, our aims and ideals have been the same. We are convinced that we are carrying out this work to the best of our ability, and I am therefore always pleased to hear an Englishman declare that British colonial administration is the best in the world. This is just as it should be. If that were not his conviction, and that of the whole nation, there would be something lacking, and it would be felt that Great Britain had failed to do everything in her power properly to discharge her self-imposed duty of offering to peoples who live under conditions of religion, history, soil, and climate totally different from her own, the best chances in life and opening up to them a horizon which attracts them and to which they progress under the leadership and with the support of a well-tried guide.

Whilst therefore appreciating the soundness of your convictions, based on a glorious record, I would add that we are equally

* Based on an address delivered before the Royal Empire Society on January 18, 1938.

firmly convinced that we are also doing our duty, as good guardians, towards the peoples of the Netherlands East Indies, and therefore do not fear comparisons.

This is no captatio benevolentiae. I feel that in these strange times we cannot sufficiently stress the fact that the edifice we build must rest upon moral foundations. We do not merely administer; we live with those we administer. We know them, we know their needs. Within the limits of what can be financially achieved, we endeavour to give them what they need. With them we rejoice in a good harvest. If a crater bursts and the bubbling lava scorches the slope of the mountain, we rush to the rescue. The Indonesian is not blind to our motives. Aristocrat or plain countryman, he appreciates the treatment that is not merely utilitarian, the contact, the intercourse, in which the human element is given its right.

Here is an example. It happened during the Great War that a number of Netherlands Indies merchantmen lying in a foreign port were commandeered for service under another flag. The new captains would have liked to keep the native crews, and to these people the offer of earning their livelihood and serving on board ships with which they were so familiar was tempting. Yet, what happened? Without any prompting on the part of their Dutch officers, the crews silently walked ashore, ranged themselves along the quayside, and gave their ceremonial salute—the “sembah”—as the Dutch flags were hauled down. One must have the faculty of understanding a motionless and soundless demonstration of a mass of people squatting down like statues, of people whose purpose in foregathering one realizes. If they are silent it is because words would destroy the essence that emanates from them.

I hasten to pass on to facts, but I hope I may have brought to you a little of the atmosphere in which I should like this lovely country of the Indies to appear before you.

Curiously the birth of our Empire in the East was due to the action of the sixteenth-century King of Spain, who forbade the Dutch to enter Spanish and Portuguese ports. *Navigare necesse est*, so the Dutch found the way to the East Indies themselves and

wrested the secret of the route from the Portuguese, who would not allow other nations to share it. The great geographer, Plancius, provided our adventurous navigator, Houtman, with the charts to make the voyage possible, and when his vessels returned to port in 1597 laden with pepper and nutmegs, his arrival was celebrated as a great national triumph in spite of the loss of life and the terrible hardships which this first venture had entailed.

I wish that I could show you these islands of brilliant sunshine and drenching rain, where the elephant may bar the way to the traveller's car, and the incessant chirp of the cricket deafen you, where the *tjitjak* lizard clinging to the wall, and the toad at your feet flick the mosquitoes into their mouths; where the brilliant red of the flamboyant adorns the plains, and the *spathodea* seems to drop blood from its crown on to the hillsides. Could I but lead you into a Javanese *Kraton*, the walled palace of some native prince. Who speaks of transience? What are the changes in the shadow play and epic poems? Where can be found a charm to vie with the gamelan or with that of the dancing maidens of a Sultan's court?

But do not take my word for these things. Go and see for yourselves if it is possible to exaggerate the beauty of these islands. But it is important to choose the right season! Do not attempt to escape the rigours of the English climate by visiting Java in the winter! The rain might hold you prisoner in your hotel. The East Monsoon, or dry season, is the time for travel. You will find in Java a long range of mountains with good, hospitable hotels at various altitudes, and at 5,000 feet a wood fire; a blanket by night. You will see the sun rising over the *Boeroeboedoer*, and if you are lucky, the moon as well. You will feel something of the Australian winter in the winds of East Java, not far from Bali, which threatens to become the Mecca of the tourist who cannot help turning the children into beggars. They make fun of the globe trotter with his *topee* which does not become him and which he doesn't know how to wear.

In the island of Flores again you admire the famous red and

blue lakes. In Timor you find an acrodrome which is the jumping-off place for the dangerous last hop to Port Darwin. And in New Guinea you will shudder at the stories of the head-hunters, now peaceful villagers. Travel further to northwards, and visit Christianized Amboina and Banda, the land of the nutmeg gardens, and white marble-floored mansions that speak of bygone splendour. You will perhaps find a bird of paradise from New Guinea in a merchant's godown, but happily there is a great slump in this trade. The peak of Ternate rises up before you, you pass it by, and reach northern Celebes—the twelfth province of the Netherlands—the Minahassa, with its almost fanatical devotion to the House of Orange. Next go west to Borneo, and see Tarakan with its oilfields, the present northern terminus of the Royal Netherlands Indies Airways. From there to Manilla would be a mere “flip.”

Having come so far, let us pause and take stock. In West Java you saw the Soendanese, a cheerful people, dressed in gay colours. Next came Middle and East Java, with a population more sober in character and outward apparel, much given to ceremonial courtesy, especially in the Sultanates. You have met the ubiquitous Chinaman—of whom there are a good million—and the immigrant Madoerese, as well as the Arab from Hadramaut, who still manages to make a good living out of the respect inspired by the country of his origin, though perhaps not so good as formerly. You have seen fertile country, paddy-fields with their splendid system of irrigation, plantations of rubber, coconut palms, tea and quinine estates, sugar mills, fields of tobacco, large ports, such as Batavia, Semarang, and Sourabaya, and hill stations and towns such as Bandoeng and Malang, where retired officials gladly settle down in order to avoid the worries of housekeeping in Europe. You have passed imposing buildings, banks, universities, hospitals, and sanatoriums. You have travelled along endless roads thronged with pedestrians, past volcanoes, with their waving columns of smoke, and mountain streams and great reservoirs. In fact, you have travelled along the high road from Singapore to Sydney.

In New Guinea and Borneo you discovered that we are close

neighbours. But there is yet another island, the most imposing of them all and where we are right opposite each other. I refer to Sumatra, the names of some of whose mighty plateaux and gigantic volcanoes may be familiar to you from the names of ships, such as *Dempo* and *Sibajak*. Some of the districts also have a familiar ring about them—Palembang, Benkoelen, and Brastagi—the hill station above Medan. The situation may not be quite as described by the English lady who travelled in those parts and wrote: "I went to Java and Bali, and to Sumatra, but that is ours, of course." But all the same, we are very close to what we call the opposite Peninsula. Singapore and Penang are only an hour or so away by air, and not inconsiderable numbers of British visit Brastagi to enjoy the cool climate.

But it is not only the British tourist whom we are pleased to welcome. We rejoice in the fact that many of your countrymen have enormous interests in Java and Sumatra. A hundred million pounds sterling seems a modest estimate of the British capital invested in the Netherlands East Indies. The estates of Anglo-Dutch Plantations of Java Limited are as large as an English county, and you also have vast rubber, tea, coffee, and oil-palm estates in Sumatra, such as those of Harrisons and Crosfield. Banks, merchant houses, stores, administrative offices, insurance companies, constitute "invisible" sources of income. It is a rather sore point with some of my countrymen that English firms control the exports of tea, rubber, and sugar. In this respect we have fallen behind, but it does no harm in itself; we have only ourselves to blame for a lack of what may be described as merchants' broad vision. Be that as it may, we have always been glad when foreign capital was attracted to the Netherlands East Indies—and welcomed it; the greater the diversity, the better for us, and we on our side have always guaranteed the foreign investor the opportunity for peaceful and uninterrupted development. Thus German, American, French, Swiss, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, and Belgian capital is also invested in the Netherlands East Indies, and both country and Treasury benefit therefrom. It is not only a question of money for us. When, for instance, a foreign company builds excellent houses for its employees in Java and else-

where in the Netherlands East Indies, an example is thereby set for others to follow.

British-Netherlands co-operation has also been demonstrated by the well-known joint restrictions on the production of rubber, tin, and tea. Shipping is another point on which we have much in common, although naturally Dutch shipping preponderates, largely through the efforts of our popular Royal Packet Navigation Company, commonly called K.P.M., which does not rest on its laurels, and in spite of pessimistic prophecies made such a success of their new China, Java, South Africa Line that they are now putting three new ships on this run and will perhaps extend it to South America.

The number of British passengers using Dutch boats is a source of great satisfaction to the companies concerned, notably to the *Nederland and Rotterdam Lloyd*, which have become especially popular with the British public for the short trips they organize to Marseilles, Genoa, Algiers, and Port Said, although it is difficult to obtain passages to and from the last-named port. Singapore is of great importance to Dutch shipping, as all our ships call there, and Singapore's great shops are much in demand by those who wish to provide themselves with outfits. People going out to Djambi in Sumatra even buy all their furniture and other household goods in Singapore in preference to Batavia, which is much further away, and which, moreover, they do not visit. In fact the Archipelago is so situated that a man may spend years on a tobacco plantation in the east coast of Sumatra without ever going to Java at all, as those who get leave proceed to Europe as quickly as possible. No doubt the improved air services will change all this, for a man is hardly likely to leave the East without seeing at least something of Java, when he can get from Medan to Bandoeng in a single day. At the same time the amenities of Sumatra itself are improving with startling rapidity. More and more roads are being built. If possible the scenery is even more beautiful than in Java, and it is certainly more attractive to those who love nature in all its pristine purity.

Batavia was founded by Coen for the Dutch East India Company in 1619. It has remained the capital ever since. It is the

seat of the Council of the Indies and most of the Departments of State. It is here that the People's Council meets. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of concentrating all this administrative work in a hot coastal climate. My own view was that more work can be done in a cool climate like that of Bandoeng, where the War Office and the Public Works Department are situated. However, it is not only a difference of opinion, but heavy expenditure and a serious clash of interests, which prevent the removal of other departments from the coast, and life at Batavia has been made healthier and more pleasant by a good water supply, swimming baths, the improvement of the roads to the hills, and rapid transport by rail and air. When air-conditioning comes into general use, it will no longer be necessary to seek the cooler climate of the hill stations, but offices and bedrooms will be kept cool in the same way as are the sleeping-cars of our railways. It may be useful to add that the variations in the temperature are slight, owing to the proximity of the ocean. The temperature on the coast varies between 79 and 80 degrees, and drops by one-half of a degree ($\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$) for every 100 metres increased altitude.

Life among the European community presents, I believe, a different picture from that in British India. The Dutch prefer to keep their children with them as long as possible, and there are good European schools everywhere. These form a complete system of education, culminating in three University colleges, a law school, a medical school, and an engineering college. There is, besides, extensive provision for native education, but the European schools are everywhere open to native students who are destined to receive more advanced education.

The results achieved by European medical science in the interests of public health may be called truly prodigious. Cholera has virtually disappeared. For vaccination against smallpox we have the Pasteur Institute at Bandoeng, typhus is combated by inoculation, and malaria by draining the breeding places of the anopheles mosquito. The number of sanatoriums for tuberculous patients is continually increasing, but the number of patients in the villages is proving unexpectedly large, as is the case in Europe, and it will be necessary to visit and treat these in their homes, as

it is not possible to build enough sanatoriums for them all. Plague first showed itself twenty-five years ago, and the measures taken for its effective extermination are an expensive business. These mostly consist in improving the conditions of insanitary native houses, to prevent the disease-carrying rat from nesting in the hollow bamboo uprights. Quite recently an anti-plague serum has been prepared by Dr. Otten. Beri-beri is no longer the scourge it was. The spread of the hookworm disease is being prevented. But the best results of all are obtained in the fight against frambœsia, or yaws, by injections with neosalvarsan. Once the medical service had found the wonderful effect of this specific, it considered it its duty to place it at the disposal of the sufferers free of charge. But a curious result ensued. The natives had no faith in a medicine that cost nothing. It could not be much good, they argued. So a small charge was made, and since then patients have shown themselves eager for treatment.

Mr. Harold B. Butler, Chief of the International Labour Bureau, who visited our Indies last November, expressed his admiration of the extreme care taken on the east coast of Sumatra of the labourers' health. He was struck by the number and the organization of the hospitals and the excellent pathological laboratory. One of the most remarkable things to which his attention was drawn was the considerable use made of native labour for all kinds of work which in Europe is done by skilled hands. These natives did responsible work as accurately as it could be done by Europeans. This cheap production—so he said—makes one think.

When I have conducted you from Medan, along the east coast of Atjeh to Sabang—the first port of call on the outward journey, you will have traversed the district which was the most recently pacified, and where we encountered great difficulties for many a long year but which now, opened up by roads and estates, witnesses the arrival of immigrants from the Batak-lands and Java, who help to create totally different conditions.

In Sumatra, above all places, you must allow time to admire the primeval forests, plateaux, wide rivers, enormous agricultural enterprises, boldly engineered roads, and world-famous oilfields.

You should study social experiments such as the migration of natives from Java, the work of missions, and time should also be found to look at what has been done to help the most wretched of all dying creatures—the lepers.

Some of you may recall the name of Deli—a name which formerly conveyed the idea of riches. Deli—the land where you quickly became rich by growing tobacco, in the same way as by growing sugar in Java. Such stories die hard, but they are things of the past, not of the present. The past does not lie far behind us, but it is gone for good. No man, however good his position, will ever again receive a bonus of £100,000 in a year. The sugar agricultural industry was hard hit, and hardest of all when British India started her own sugar industry. And the famous Deli tobacco-growing industry passed through a period in which it lost £1,000,000 in one year. The gilt is off the gingerbread.

Being essentially an exporting country, the Netherlands Indies are super-sensitive to the world's markets. They suffered severely when the prices of staple commodities fell during the depression, and the State suffered with the individual—a serious matter in a country where more is expected from the Government than in Europe. That the population did not go short of actual necessities during the years of depression can only be attributed to the fact that the prices of imported articles of consumption also declined sharply. Most of these imports came from Japan, who bade fair to drive all the older importing countries from the market.

The Netherlands Indies became sixty years ago a free trade country in the sense that all preferential duties favouring imports from the Mother Country were abolished, and this system of maintaining one customs tariff for all goods of any origin continues to be in force today. A few years ago it was found necessary, like in the British Crown Colonies, to stabilize imports of textiles and a few other commodities by means of quotas. The average of certain basic years was selected and each foreign country was allotted its full proportional share. This scheme works satisfactorily and has resulted in Lancashire regaining

some of the Java trade which it had lost to Japan. If the older selling countries had lost their Netherlands East Indies market, they would soon have ceased to purchase the country's produce. Moreover, the Indies themselves produce commodities other than agricultural, which had to be protected against unchecked competition. The rice-growing industry also required protection against the importation of rice at too low a price. On the other hand, the consumer—that is, every native—had to be safeguarded against an excessively high price for his principle article of diet. And so some quotas were introduced (for manufactured goods), whilst rice imports were subjected to a system of Government licences, and the cultivation of other foodstuffs at home was encouraged.

With the improvement of commodity prices the situation became easier, especially when the guilder came off the gold standard. More money began to circulate among the natives, especially in the Outer Possessions, where they sometimes received more than they could wisely spend. The result of this increased prosperity was that in the Sumatra rubber districts imports of textiles, sheet-iron, sewing machines, biscuits (to mention a few odd articles) all increased. Sarongs, batiks, and furniture were purchased from Java, cattle from Madoera. All this was of great importance to the Java industries—large and small—which employ thousands of hands. The population there is very dense—up to over 1,500 per square mile. West Java has benefited by better prices for tea, rubber, quinine, and coconuts. But the rise has been much less marked in the case of tobacco and sugar, and conditions in Middle and East Java have improved very much less—in fact, in some districts hardly at all.

The various economic measures taken by the Government to meet the slump have had remarkable results, of which I will mention two:

There was a time when the native population was dependent for its food on the import of rice. In 1936 only 224,000 tons were imported, as against a home production of four million tons. The situation in regard to soya beans—an important commodity—is similar. In 1936 imports had ceased. The reason

was partly that more land had become available through the reduction of the sugar crop, and partly that the population had taken the advice of Government officials and planted more crops for home consumption.

It might be argued that a country with such a favourable trade balance should not attempt to achieve self-sufficiency. But firstly it is a great advantage for the population to be able to obtain their rice and other foodstuffs at their own front doors, so to speak; secondly, it is not certain that the series of good harvests will continue; and thirdly we know from our experience during the Great War how extremely difficult it may be to purchase rice abroad. Finally, it is by no means certain that a commodity such as rubber, which is now being produced synthetically in Europe and America, will always remain the important article it is today, and Deli tobacco no longer occupies its former position in the world. Hence the Government has to pursue a conservative financial policy, although it is sometimes hard to refuse money in a country where there is still unlimited room for its advantageous spending. That the need to do so exists and that such money is of tangible value was demonstrated when Holland recently placed twenty-five million guilders at the disposal of the Indies. Even so hundreds of dreams did not become realities, but wisely spent, this modest sum did a great deal of good, and may do more in the future.

How hard the country was hit by the depression appears from the fact that imports dropped from 1,166 million to 274 million guilders. This had one good effect, not confined to the East Indies—namely, the drastic reduction in production costs. The reduction affected both natives and Europeans, many of whom were hard hit. But as a result of the wholly praiseworthy manner in which people adapted themselves to altered circumstances and the admirable manner in which those who were able to keep their heads above water looked after their impoverished relations as long as they had food enough to go round, the distress was not as great as in other countries. As it was, it was severe enough, and is not yet completely at an end. For the first time the European population were faced with the

spectre which existed in the Motherland—namely, unemployment. The actual figures may not appear alarming, but unemployment weighs heavily in a country where the white man must keep up his position or lose caste. The fact that the guilder went off gold, together with the rise of commodity prices, brought great relief.

Between 1930 and 1935 exports dropped from 1,192 to 459 million guilders. During the first six months of 1937 they rose again to 485 millions, and they probably approached the one thousand million mark before the end of last year. The following figures relating to the first *five* months of the years 1935 and 1937 show the increased value of exports:

Tin	Rose from 11 to 28 million guilders				
Native Rubber	„	„	18½	„	62 „ „
Estate Rubber	„	„	25	„	60 „ „
Oil products	„	„	37	„	62 „ „
Copra	„	„	6	„	27 „ „
Palm Oil	„	„	2	„	9 „ „

The native rubber planters experienced a veritable boom. Whereas in 1935 they received barely 24 millions, they stood to receive 130 millions last year. True, they were guilders of 80 cents, but thanks to various Government measures, such as the reduction of import duties, they are little the worse for that.

Imports increased proportionately. During the first quarter of 1936 cotton textiles were imported to a total value of about 13 million guilders. During the corresponding period of the past year their value has risen to about 22 millions. The value of bicycles imported during these two periods rose from 637 thousand to one million two hundred thousand guilders. Both these articles are *mainly purchased by the native population.*

Before giving you a rapid sketch of the way in which the Netherlands Indies are governed today, I should like to say a word about Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, one of the most remarkable men who set his stamp in the Far East during the nineteenth century. The lasting monument to his name is the city of Singapore, which he founded. But he also did great work in Java, where

he was Lieutenant-Governor from 1811 to 1816. He abolished forced labour, and restored to the natives the full use of their crops in return for a land tax which he instituted. He was a brusque man, as Coen had been before him, and he was the enemy of the Dutch, but his reforms mark a turning-point in colonial administration. He showed a keen interest in languages and ethnological subjects; he cultivated the acquaintance of educated natives and during the five years of his administration secured for himself an enduring position among the great Governors of the Netherlands Indies. There is a monument to the memory of his wife in the Botanical Gardens at Buitenzorg within a few hundred yards of the Governor-General's Palace, which is preserved by us with pious care.

The Government of the Netherlands Indies consists of a Governor-General, the Council of the Indies, the "Volksraad," or "People's Council," and the Heads of Departments. The last-named may be likened to Ministers of the Crown in Europe, except that they are responsible to the Governor-General only, and receive their instructions from him alone. Although the Governor-General has extensive powers and a very large measure of independence, he has, when shaping his policy, to bear in mind the fact that the Minister for Colonies in Holland must be able to assume responsibility in the Dutch Parliament for his acts.

Until the beginning of the present century the Government of the Netherlands Indies bore a character which in modern parlance might be termed authoritarian, but was so dependent on the Home Government that even the budget, for example, was drawn up, not in Java, but at the Hague. Eventually, however, the need for decentralization was felt and local Councils were set up and charged with specific duties and provided with the necessary means for carrying them out. Such Councils now exist everywhere, in the towns, in the more developed parts of the Archipelago and in the Java Regencies. The institution of the Regency Councils made it necessary for the Regents to preside in public over meetings, at which each member was free to express his opinion on any subject. These Regents are native function-

aries, members of the old aristocratic families of the land. Their authority is based on their origin and traditions and it will readily be understood that modern demands led to difficulties. However, the system has this advantage, that it continually imposes upon the Regents—as valued supporters of the Central Government—the task of acquainting themselves thoroughly with all subjects which are likely to come up for discussion at the Council meetings.

At the outset, when the decentralization was limited to purely local matters, the necessity arose of giving the people an opportunity to express their opinions in a representative body. Thus, after very protracted preliminary preparations in Holland, the "Volksraad"—or "People's Council"—was established in 1916. It was originally a purely advisory body, but the debates on the budget after the manner of the Dutch Parliament furnished it with an opportunity to express its opinions on a variety of subjects. In fact the Government of the day had no reason to complain of its lack of critical powers, and even the most experienced officials were astonished at the volume and scope of its criticism. The chairman, a Dutchman, was and is appointed by the Crown. Of the original 38 members, 15 were native. Half the number were appointed by the Governor-General, in order to secure a proper representation of all the various groups, currents of opinion, and interests.

Since its inception the Volksraad has undergone a profound change. It has become part of the legislative machinery of the country. The Governor-General no longer requires the assent of the Council of the Indies for his legislative acts, but exercises his functions in this respect in close collaboration with the Volksraad. He is still bound, however, to consult the Council of the Indies before submitting any legislative proposals to the Volksraad. The authority of the Council of the Indies has remained unimpaired, and inclusion therein of two native members in recent years was felt to be the natural consequence of the spread of education among the indigenous population. It remains with the population to demonstrate that that which became necessary in a political sense will also prove beneficial, inasmuch as the efficiency

of the Council and the experience and knowledge it possesses will increase as a result of native membership.

The budget is now compiled by the Governor-General with the active assistance of the Volksraad—which now numbers 60 members—but must be finally approved by the Dutch Parliament, which adjudicates in cases where the Governor-General and the People's Council fail to reach agreement.

It would appear to the objective observer that the present system offers the native population the full scope in the field of politics to which they can at present be considered to be entitled, and that years must elapse before they can fully avail themselves of present opportunities. The political system as now existing has not always worked smoothly, but there is no reason why it should not work admirably, provided those in authority display tact and understanding.

It stands to reason that not only the British capitalist who has invested his money there is interested in the East Indian Archipelago, but all those who appreciate the significance of the communications between Singapore and Australia, the more so because it is quite certain that if rain penetrates our roof, yours would begin to leak too.

Perhaps this is not as widely understood as it should be outside a limited circle of statesmen and societies like your own. Yet the fact that a Hollander has been invited—not for the first time—to speak here about the Netherland Indies, proves that a growing consciousness exists of the interdependence of our interests. May that realization become more general through the good offices of the Royal Empire Society! We have our common anxieties as a result of developments in the Far East. Centuries of cultural work lie behind both of us and each will steadfastly play his part to prevent the destruction of that which he has so laboriously and successfully built up. If in former times we have been rivals, it is evident that the protection of our cultural achievements in those territories is a problem which we have in common. Let it not be thought, however, that we allow ourselves to be lulled by the confident expectation of a big brother's support. No, we too are a nation with cool heads and steady nerves. We are of the same

fibre as our forefathers. Character was their greatest virtue. We are very much awake and making great sacrifice to guard our house.

This is certainly not of our choice; we cannot do otherwise, and forced as we are by what we see happening around us, we are acting on the assumption that possibly we may have to rely on ourselves alone.

THE SECURITY OF INDO-CHINA AND SIAMESE IMPERIALISM

BY COLONEL FERNAND BERNARD

(President of the Franco-Siamese Boundary Commission, 1904-1907.)

ON November 5, 1936, in a letter addressed to Mr. Yvon Delbos, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Government of Bangkok denounced the Treaty of February 14, 1925, which at the present moment governs the relations between France and Siam; and they announced that, as from the month of November, 1937, they intended to regain their entire liberty of action. An identical decision was made in connection with all the powers with whom Siam had concluded agreements in the past; and this fact should be emphasized. It is not, in fact, a case of an isolated special measure which can be regulated by bilateral agreements; it is a general measure, which affects a number of powers in varying degrees, and it would be necessary for an understanding to be reached between the principal countries interested in order to achieve equitable solutions, so as to maintain and consolidate the amicable relations which have obtained between ourselves and Siam for the past thirty years.

Nevertheless, although the initiative assumed by the Government of Bangkok interests a large number of countries, this initiative produces special problems as far as we are concerned. The Siamese Kingdom is sandwiched between Burma and the Federated Malay States on the west and Indo-China on the east; our vast Colony has 1,800 kilometres of frontier in common with Siam; the Mekong, which crosses and also serves Indo-China, the Laos and the Cambodge, has an international character over a length of more than 800 kilometres, and Siamese as well as French ships can navigate it freely. Finally, from the first days of the establishment of our Colony, and for more than forty years, there have been numerous conflicts between Siam and ourselves, and we were only able to put an end to these thirty years ago by reason of a reciprocated spirit of equity and comprehension; we do not wish to see these reborn. For this reason, it has seemed necessary to me to analyze before you the essential clauses of the 1925 Treaty, and to study the possible consequence of their denunciation.

These essential provisions are as follows:

1. In Article 2 of the 1925 Treaty, the two contracting parties confirm the frontiers established between their territories by previous agreements, and guarantee both to respect them.

2. In the same Article, they undertake, over the whole length of the Mekong frontier and an equal extent on either side, not to maintain any additional armed forces to the police forces necessary for maintaining public order.

3. In Articles 3, 4, 6, and those following, persons coming from both countries, and companies of any kind constituted in accordance with the legislation of one of the countries, enjoy the right to exercise their profession freely on the territory of the other, to acquire, possess, sell, transfer, all property, whether built or otherwise, to be used for commercial, industrial, or agricultural purposes.

4. In Article 15, France recognizes the complete autonomy of Siam as regards customs and fiscal matters.

5. By virtue of a first protocol annexed to the Treaty, French citizens, who had up to that time benefited from the jurisdiction of the Consular Tribunals, were subjected to the jurisdiction of the Siamese Courts.

6. A second protocol provided that a complementary agreement be made between Indo-China and Siam for the purpose of regulating, in particular, navigation on the Mekong and the judicial regulation of the river; this agreement conceded to Siam rights identical to those which we alone had enjoyed since 1893; it admitted that the frontier was constituted by the thalweg of the river, and that a zone of 25 kilometres *on either side of the Mekong* should be entirely demilitarized.

Among these provisions, which would subsist for one day after a denunciation of the Treaty if we bowed to the decisions of the Siamese Government?

Up to now, these decisions have not been the subject of a public declaration. We know in any case that Siam intends henceforth to refuse to all foreigners—and consequently to Frenchmen—the rights to property which they have enjoyed by virtue of all previous treaties, and that they have decided also to do away with the demilitarized zone and to maintain, if they think fit, garrisons even on the banks of the Mekong.

These are two points of capital importance, and on these two points we could not accept the requirements of Siam without compromising to an irremediable extent the economic and political interests of Indo-China, and even perhaps her security.

The suppression of the rights to property which we have enjoyed since 1856, and which have been confirmed and extended by every treaty up to 1925, would mean going back seventy-five years, and would also mean an intolerable violation of all the agreements in respect of the position of our emigrants established in Siam.

The suppression of the demilitarized zone is still more serious. It was precisely because for years we had to put up with repeated incursions of Siamese troops into Indo-China that we considered

it necessary, in 1893, to neutralize a strip of land 25 kilometres in width on the right bank of the Mekong. Later when, as a result of the Treaty of 1907, we were at last able to settle the differences which separated us, we wished to show our willingness to maintain peaceful relations between the two countries, we *ourselves* accepted on the left bank of the river the same obligations and limitations as we had previously imposed on Siam.

The constitution of a demilitarized zone on both the French side and the Siamese side of the Mekong is the most striking sign of our friendly intentions. It is reasonable to wonder for what reasons Siam intends to erase the peaceful agreement which we concluded; whilst the events which have been produced since the signature of the 1925 Treaty not only entitle us to abandon the guarantees which we accepted or gave ten years ago, but rather compel us to seek additional guarantees.

In fact, for ten years, Siam has not ceased to arm. Whilst we in Indo-China only maintain in the whole country 25,000 troops, either European or indigenous, the Siamese army on a peace footing is composed of 60,000 fighting troops, and can be mobilized to 300,000. Even though no danger confronts Siam, and their only two neighbours, Great Britain on one side and France on the other, have never ceased to maintain the most cordial relations with them; even though along the whole length of our common frontiers, whether at Cambodia or at Laos, and for a depth of three to four hundred kilometres we have neither a company of men nor a gun, the Siamese Government finds it necessary to raise a navy, an army, and an aerial fleet, for the maintenance of which they devote nearly one-third of the budget resources, and for which we are compelled to ask ourselves the possible use.

To this question, however, the Siamese Government has replied. On April 3, 1937, the *Bangkok Times* published the main parts of a statement made by Luang Bibul, Minister for War, which was broadcast over the whole of Siam, and which our stations in Indo-China have been able to pick up.

We shall content ourselves by quoting the main parts of this statement:

The Minister has shown that there are countries more fortunate than Siam, who can devote 60 per cent. of their budget receipts to their armaments. But we are poor, and we have besides the matter of national defence other services which must be maintained. This is the reason why we can only allocate 20 per cent. of our receipts to national defence. This cannot be called a great deal, if we consider the fact that the benefit derived from the operation is certainly greater than the value of the funds so employed.

When once the war services have taken their proper place in the State, and the foreigner has recognized their power, the progress of the country will be guaranteed and accelerated, because nobody will dare to put a spoke in our wheel as is the case today. It is from Germany that we must ask lessons.

Twenty years after the Great War, Germany realized how, as a result of their defeat, they were inferior to the other powers in military means. They only ceased to decline as a military power when Mr. Hitler succeeded to power.

It is he who, giving his body and soul to the matter, has succeeded in giving Germany her military power, in the space of two or three years. After this, Germany was in a position to denounce the Treaty of Versailles, which forbade her to carry out the progress which she desired. At the time, both the small and great nations raised objections to the conduct of Germany; but she took no notice whatsoever, and nobody was capable of applying any constraint. On the other hand, she found support. All this is explained merely by the fact that she was known to be strongly organized in a military sense. At the present moment, Germany has regained a position of great power, and has no need to ask anybody's permission to play her game.

Before Mr. Hitler came into power, other German statesmen had attempted to negotiate with the other powers and the League of Nations itself. The fact remains, however, that they never succeeded in obtaining anything by these methods, and the majority of them wore themselves out at the task, without their diplomacy producing the slightest result.

This single example is sufficient to show how Germany was able to overcome her difficulties by reason of her military power—the nation being from top to bottom a nation of soldiers. It must not be forgotten, however, that Germany undertook other enterprises, and that, as soon as they considered that they had achieved sufficient from a military point of view, they immediately devoted themselves to their economic progress.

Japan, which is an Asiatic power like ourselves, at one time found themselves at the level which we occupy now; that is, in their relations with the other powers it was for them to make all the concessions. Only Japan understood the importance for them of advancing rapidly. That is why they started to put their house in order by providing themselves with a strong army. It is to this policy that they owe their victory over Russia—a power which at that time was considered to be of the first importance.

Afterwards, Japan ended by being placed among the

numbers of the great powers; and they have not ceased during that time to increase their forces.

In effect, they devote about 60 per cent. of their budget receipts to armaments, so that, if their receipts amounted like ours to 104 million ticos, they would spend 62 of these on their land and sea forces, whilst we ourselves only spend 26 millions out of 104 on reinforcing our army and navy.

So now that Japan has spent so much on strengthening her military forces, her industrial and commercial progress appears in full swing, simply because the fear of her power prevents others from interrupting this progress.

In addition, by reason of diplomacy, the Japanese delegate to the League of Nations itself was able to leave the Assembly with a serene countenance, as soon as he considered that his country could not obtain their due by diplomatic means.

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The orator then proceeded to deal with the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. Italy had recourse to arms to conquer territories for the benefit of her population, which lacked colonies. It was military power which made the operation possible. No other method was capable of producing such a success and of giving victory.

The orator recalled that it was the military weakness of the old Italy which prevented her from maintaining properly the demands of the colonial territories which she presented to her allies after the war. Honour is therefore due to M. Mussolini for having been able to construct a powerful army in his country, and for having been able to make use of it to carry his various enterprises to a successful end.

* * * * *

The mere brute, for example, needs fangs and claws to defend itself and procure its food. Man, although placed more highly in the scale of beings, nevertheless shows fear when confronted by this animal, not because of its appearance or its voice, but because of these fangs and claws. The tiger is a very wise animal, and he waits until he has these fangs and claws before venturing upon distant expeditions. At first he is dependent upon his mother, and cannot risk hunting except in the neighbourhood of his lair. The same applies to the nations; they must wait until time has provided them with fangs and claws before they can undertake any enterprise whatever. This does not mean to say that we should do nothing at the moment except strengthen our army. We have still other enterprises to bring to a successful

conclusion; but they must be conducted in accordance with the proved principles which have just been cited. The work accomplished by our Government shows that this is really their policy.

* * * * *

What are the enterprises to which Siam has the intention of devoting herself after she has finally produced a sufficient force to impose her will upon her neighbours? This again, the Siamese Government itself communicated to us. For two years, the present Government has endeavoured to show that the Chakri dynasty, now dispossessed of all power, had not ceased to betray the interests of the nation. They have announced that Siam had once within their frontiers all the populations of the Thais language and race, from the upper valleys of the Tonkin and North Annam to the confines of Cochinchina. They affirm that the reason why such a glorious position could not be maintained was that the monarchic Government allowed its neighbours to impose unjust treaties upon it, and that it was necessary to abolish or revise such treaties. They showed their ambitions by having a map prepared recently by the Army Geographical Services, which bore the legend: "MAP OF THE ANCIENT FRONTIERS OF SIAM 150 YEARS AGO," which includes the greater part of the Shan States and Burma, all the Laotian territory, including the upper valleys of the Tonkin and the North Annam, and the whole of Cambodia.

This fantastic map, which does not agree with any historic reality, was prepared under the direction of the Minister for Public Instruction; 10,000 copies were made and distributed in the schools and public establishments in Siam. I have had one of these maps in front of me, and a few copies were sent to the Quai d'Orsay.

In the speech which has just been made, and in the method of propaganda adopted, one recognizes pan-Germanic methods; and it is impossible not to consider manifestations of this type as serious, in view of the past.

The imperialistic argument which was maintained some time ago by the Siamese Minister for War, has already been affirmed at other periods. In Bangkok today, it is said—as it was said forty years ago—that there existed at one time in the valley of the Mekong and the Me-Nam, from the frontiers of China to the Gulf of Siam, a great Empire, which Great Britain and France would have been delighted to destroy, and which the Government of Siam has the right to attempt to reconstitute. Nothing could be more false.

The situation is no longer the same as before; in fact, on the

one hand, our interests and those of Great Britain coincide, and we can act of common accord in preventing Siam from again employing an imperialistic policy, full of dangers for her neighbours; but on the other hand, the Siam of today is much more dangerous than she was before. Since the end of last century, she has made remarkable progress in every sphere; with the assistance of European counsellors borrowed from every country, she has created public services almost exclusively directed by Siamese officials, organized tribunals, undertaken large works, and raised large military forces. For this reason, she enjoys on the left bank of the Mekong a prestige among the population, which we could have balanced if we had followed the same policy at Laos. I do not wish to make too simple a comparison between the material and moral position of the populations subject to Siamese sovereignty, and that of the individuals who, in French Laos, carry on a miserable existence under our authority. Unfortunately, it is only too true that, among all our Colonies, Laos is the one where material progress has been of the most mediocre kind, where indispensable works have been the most neglected, where conditions of work are the most scandalous, and where the abuse of applications has provoked the most repeated complaints. It would be useful, in fact it would appear necessary, to institute an enquiry to ascertain the differences between the rule from which the Laotians, who depend upon Bangkok benefit, and that for those grouped under the authority of the Higher Resident of Vientiane. If we wish to assure the security of Indo-China in the valley of the Mekong, we must carry out great reforms in Laos; but these reforms require many years, and we are compelled to look at facts as they present themselves today. If the Siamese tomorrow penetrated into the demilitarized zone and installed their garrisons even on the banks of the Mekong, extremely grave consequences might result, and our authority in the Laos would be rudely shaken.

Moreover, if events which could not be prevented took place in the extreme east and in the region of the Pacific, the presence of Siamese troops in the immediate neighbourhood of our frontiers would perhaps make it impossible to organize the general defence of the Colony.

I have endeavoured to show how important it is not to allow the movement which has been born in Bangkok to develop, and which has been translated into a denunciation of the 1925 Treaty. A previous official of the Foreign Affairs service, with whom I recently spoke on this question, and who also shared all my anxiety, expressed the opinion that we could not satisfactorily oppose the Siamese enterprises, and that they would undoubtedly, for the purpose of vindicating their theory, take refuge in the very agreement which they are now denouncing. He conse-

quently considered that the only means to be employed for avoiding the difficulties which are imminent would be to apply to the International Court at The Hague.

The problem which is presented, however, cannot be reduced simply to a judicial enquiry, of which I am the last to deny the usefulness. We are compelled to realize, without doubt, that the creation of a demilitarized zone on both banks of the Mekong has been substituted for other obligations arising out of the 1893 Treaty, and which were maintained and consolidated by the 1925 Treaty. But a criticism of the text, and the conclusions which can be drawn therefrom, are not sufficient to ensure the safety of a country. In order to place international relations on a normal basis, it becomes necessary to take into account intentions and principles, circumstances and facts. The rights of Siam, whatever they may be, are limited by the reactions, due to the abuse in their application, which are likely to be provoked in the neighbouring countries. If they think it necessary, the Siamese may still continue to increase the size of their army, proceed with partial or total mobilization, concentrate troops in the proximity of our Cambodian or Laotian frontiers; but nobody could affirm that such measures were normal, or that they did not justify some immediate counter-measure on our part.

In fact, we cannot allow a neighbour, whose activities have long been directed against us, to revive with increased means a policy which has but lately been practised, and which cannot fail to end in an armed conflict. We desire, now as always, to devote all our efforts to maintain with Siam those good neighbourly relations which have been established for the last thirty years. We consider, however, that the attitude taken up by the Bangkok Government, and of which the occupation of the demilitarized zone shows the aggressiveness, would endanger peace, not only in the Mekong valley, but by reflex action in the whole of the Far East.

We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that, on the huge Pacific chessboard, Siam might be used by other powers against us and against allied or friendly countries. We cannot see that our neighbours are responding to a constantly friendly attitude, by the bellicose preparations and the suppression of the guarantees to which we desired to give a reciprocal nature, so as to efface all that the previous conflicts had left in the way of bitterness in the minds of the Siamese people.

We have no intention of replying to provocation by forcible means; but if we do not take precautions at once, we may before long be driven into a corner. It is not that we wish to exaggerate the military force in Siam. We do not give way to a sentiment of panic. We are thinking above all of the safety and well-being of the Indo-Chinese populations whom we protect. The entry of

Siamese troops into the demilitarized zone after more than forty years would have the same effect on these people as that produced in Europe last year by the occupation of the Rhineland. This time, we could not accept the accomplished fact without losing in the eyes of the Annamites, the Cambodgians, and the Laotians the prestige which we at present enjoy, and which, more than our military force, allows us to govern Indo-China and maintain order and peace. If, however, we wish to avoid redoubtable complications, we must at once take measures in this respect which have been too long deferred. Some time, in fact, has elapsed since the 1925 Treaty was denounced, and up to the present we have abstained from any action. It seems as if we are resigned to waiting for the initiative from Siam. We do not appear to have foreseen, either the possibility of our neighbours bringing their troops up to the banks of the Mekong in November, or the obligation on our part to reply to such measures by similar measures. We must at once make our decisions and make our attitude clear. We must make a public announcement of the fact that we do not admit the suppression of the rights enjoyed by our emigrants in Siam, nor the suppression of the guarantees on which peace depends. We must at once increase our military, naval, and air forces in Indo-China, and concentrate sufficient forces, not at Luang-Prabang or Pakse near the demilitarized zone, but at Battambang or Monkolborey within an hour's flight from the Siamese capital. The part to be played is infinitely more important than people would appear to think. It is a question of the position in the Far East of all the European powers who have directed the evolution of these far regions, and whose interests are still predominant there. The propaganda which is being liberated in the interior of Siam by those who today govern the country, and the menacing words which have been uttered by the Siamese Minister for War, are only manifestations of the state of mind engendered in the last two years by the weaknesses of the democratic governments, and against which we must react at all costs. The thing which strikes mostly in the extravagant speech of Mr. Luang Bibul, of which I have given extracts, is the candid admiration of force, and the conviction that it is sufficient to express one's desires energetically, to obtain victory without striking a blow and without risk, and that the great powers like England and France will never dare to oppose the brutal enterprises of a country determined to assert her rights.

The victory of Japan over Russia produced a terrific effect at the time on the people of Asia, and we in Europe all felt the counter-blast. What would happen if tomorrow a minute country like Siam imposed her will upon France? Great Britain, who has just installed a formidable naval base at Singapore to ensure its

safety and that of her Dominions, Holland, whose existence depends upon the integral maintenance of her possessions, the United States of America and Russia, are all interested that Siam should not one day become the jumping-off point for a general conflagration.

At another time, there is no doubt that one would have applied to the League of Nations, and have asked them to find out whether the imperialistic ideas which animate the apprentice rulers of Siam did not constitute a grave menace to peace. At the present moment, such a step would appear to be illusory. The League of Nations has received so many checks, that we no longer dare to ask it to fulfil its rôle. We must, however, find out if we have been able to learn from recent events the lessons which they bring. The Geneva verdicts are bereft of all importance if they are not backed by the indispensable means of action. The verdicts have, however, the one advantage of conferring on those who are ready to respect them a universal mandate; and in countries like ours, considerations like these are not negligible. The essential point is that France and England be ready to play the part which is assigned to them, that they be resolved to show that the policy of rearmament to which they have been forced is not a vain manifestation, that the era of capitulations is over, and that Siam, if she persists in her megalomaniacal policy, will promptly be called to reason.

(Translated.)

THOUGHTS ON FEDERATION

By A. G. MORRILL

(Late Malayan Civil Service.)

It is interesting to observe that while the Indian States are considering joining a Federation, the Rulers of those Malay States, which entered into a Treaty of Federation in 1895, have for the last 20 years been pointing out that they are being smothered by this Federation, and that within 40 years of this Treaty H.M. Government has found it necessary to begin putting into effect measures of decentralization in order to rescue the Rulers and their State Councils from the clutches of the federal octopus which is gradually devouring them.

It would be wrong to draw hasty conclusions by analogy. Obviously the same federal agreement would work out very differently when applied to different sets of federating units. The Simon Report says: "Every federal union means the coming together of constituent elements which, while preserving their identities, look to the centre to deal with matters common to all. Thus the nature of the constituents themselves has a great influence on the form which the federation takes."

Let us look at the history of Federation in Malaya, and see whether it can throw any light on the Indian problem.

Immediately before the Treaty of 1895 there were four Malay States, the rulers of which had entered into separate treaties with Great Britain to govern on the advice of a British Resident, except in matters touching the Muhammadan religion and customs. The circumstances leading up to those treaties are well known. Internecine warfare, piracy, general chaos led to our intervention, which took place to some extent at the invitation of the rulers themselves. As Sir Frank Swettenham says in his *British Malaya*: "The Federated Malay States were, at first, only places whose nominal rulers had so failed to keep their houses in order that their unruly subjects had become a danger to neighbouring British settlements."

It was the old story which has been enacted in other parts of

the Empire. It is hopeless to try to establish law and order in a district when in the immediate neighbourhood chaos and lawlessness prevail. Sooner or later one is forced to intervene.

In the report of his visit to Malaya in 1932 Sir Samuel Wilson, who was sent out by the Colonial Office, says of the period before the Federation :

"At that time the exploitation of the tin-ore resources by foreign, chiefly Chinese, enterprise was leading to a rapid opening-up of the country; and the Malay Rulers and Chiefs had neither the administrative organization nor the resources to exercise proper control. The result was that the British Residents had no option but to gather the reins of government into their own hands, in spite of an explicit statement by the British Government that their functions were not administrative. . . . It does not require a great stretch of the imagination to understand how, in the circumstances, the Residents were forced to create and control the administrative systems in the States and to expand and adapt them to meet the needs of a rapidly developing country."

The Treaty of 1895 did not establish a central government. The Federal Council was established by a later Treaty in 1909, with power to legislate for all four States. The Federation was not really complete until 1909.

By the Treaty of 1895, par. 4, the four Rulers "agreed to accept a British officer, to be styled the Resident-General, as the agent and representative of the British Government under the Governor of the Straits Settlements . . . and to follow his advice in all matters of administration other than those touching the Muham-madan religion. . . ."

The Treaty concludes :

"Nothing in this Agreement is intended to curtail any of the powers or authority now held by any of the above-named Rulers in their respective States, nor does it alter the relations now existing between any of the States named and the British Empire."

Sir Frank Swettenham, the famous architect of the Federation, under whose guidance the States achieved such a rapid development and prosperity, gives us in his fascinating book *British Malaya* some interesting sidelights on the reasons for federating and on the reactions of the rulers at the time. "The Malay Rulers," he says, "cordially approved the scheme. It did not

touch their own status in any way, though it formally recognized the right of the Resident-General to exercise a very large control in the affairs of the States. . . .

"Then the Malay Rulers believed that as a federation they would be stronger, more important, their views more likely to receive consideration, should a day come when those views happened to be at variance with the supreme authority, be it the High Commissioner at Singapore or Secretary of State in England.

"By federation the rich States were to help the poor ones.

"Further, they welcomed federation because it meant consistency and continuity of policy. It meant the abolition of inter-State frictions and jealousies. Above all, they not only accepted but desired federation because they believed that it would give them in the Resident-General a powerful advocate of their needs and their views, and a friend whose voice would be heard further and carry more weight than that of any Resident, or of all the Residents acting independently."

The following quotation from the same book is significant in the light of what happened in later years: "It was perhaps more curious that the four Rulers were equally in favour of a proposal which seemed likely to deprive them of some authority and status."

Clearly, then, in the Federated Malay States the British exercised control of the States from the start, and when they came to federate, the several units were not only weak but under British control. At the same time the Federation was looked upon at the time by both parties to it as likely to prove a source of strength to the States. To quote Sir Frank Swettenham again: "It did not touch their own status in any way, though it formally recognized the right of the Resident-General to exercise a very large control in the affairs of the States.

"The Malay Rulers believed that as a Federation they would be stronger, more important, their views more likely to receive consideration."

The Treaty expressly states: "Nothing in this Agreement is intended to curtail any of the powers or authority now held by any of the Rulers in their respective States." It was contemplated that the States should grow and prosper as States while enjoying the advantage of a common purse and development policy and

the political strength afforded by unity. The whole would become greater than the sum of its parts—this is usually the case, in spite of what the mathematicians teach—but the parts would still remain.

What happened? Gradually the federal government machine grew and took over the detailed administration of the four states, *efficiently it is true, but almost regardless of the existence* of the State Governments. Rulers and State Councils had next to nothing to do, the powers of the Resident were whittled away until he could do almost nothing and spend almost nothing without the leave of the federal authority.

Let us see what the Wilson Report has to say on the subject:

"Previous to the Treaty the *de facto* executive power (matters concerning the Muhammadan religion and Malay custom excepted) had been left by the Ruler in each State to his British Resident, who consulted the Ruler whenever he thought desirable. The creation, as a result of the Treaty, of a Federal Secretariat under a Resident-General, whose advice had to be followed in all matters of administration, removed many of the powers previously exercised by the Residents to a superior authority who was not in continuous and personal touch with the Rulers; and the same authority took over complete supervision of the rapidly expanding finances of the States; and the unified control which resulted was a great stimulus to commerce and development. The State Governments, even if they had wished, were powerless to check centralization in the Federal Government and to escape from the ever-expanding activities of the federal departments."

There were protests from individual Rulers. In 1909 the High Commissioner "considered that there was a strong feeling on the part of the Malay Rulers against the loss of authority by the State Governments." The powers of the Resident-General were curtailed, a Federal Council was set up, the Resident-General was styled "Chief Secretary." The Rulers became members of the new Federal Council, and so did their Residents.

But it made little difference to the trend of things, and Sir Samuel Wilson says: "When Sir Lawrence Guillemard took up the duties of High Commissioner in February, 1920, he found that some of the Rulers of the Federated States were not satisfied with the position and were apprehensive that federal encroach-

ment might grow worse." That was only 25 years after the Treaty of Federation.

Sir Lawrence Guillemard thus puts it in his *Trivial Fond Records*: "The Rulers had for some time and to an increasing extent contrasted their own position of subordination to the Federal Secretariat with the position of greater freedom and dignity enjoyed in the States outside the Federation, where the government is carried on by the Ruler, assisted by a British Adviser, directly responsible to the High Commissioner, who, except on some question of policy in which his approval is required, does not intervene in the details of administration. All these causes had produced in the Rulers and higher Malays in the Federated Malay States a feeling of disquiet, and, as I realized when I got to know them, a very real disquiet. There was no failure of loyalty, no 'divine discontent,' but a desire for change in the conditions. I felt that they were right."

Federal centralization affected the English officials in different ways. With a unified public works, medical, and other services covering all four States it meant better prospects for the individual employee of those departments. A bigger service means more big jobs and consequently chances of promotion and of variety in a career. On the other hand, the greater freedom from red tape in an unfederated State makes the work of the civilian in, e.g., a Land Office vastly preferable. There is much less delay in getting votes for irrigation, bridle-paths, and similar improvements. The only other authorities who have to be consulted are all on the spot. In the Federation one had to wait about two years before getting the money for the work.

Then again in the Unfederated States there were fewer officials to create departmental correspondence and chain the officer to his desk, wasting time which might be better spent out in the fields. One well-known character among the District Officers coined the phrase, "A federal nuisance."

And so, in 1922, only 27 years after the Treaty of Federation, official intimation was given that the question of the transfer of power from the Federal to the State Governments was under consideration, and that it was hoped to increase the powers and functions of the State Councils in some important respects. Practical steps have been taken to begin, very gradually, a process

of decentralization. Assurances have been given to the Rulers of the Unfederated States that His Majesty's Government have no intention of requiring the Ruler of any Unfederated State to enter against his will into any kind of Malayan League or Union. But it is interesting to note that Sir Samuel Wilson says in his report: "However, from my discussions with their Highnesses it appears to me that the Rulers of the Unfederated States would be very reluctant to commit themselves at present to any closer co-operation than there is today with the other Governments in Malaya."

There has been strong opposition to the decentralization proposals from the commercial community in Malaya and from non-Malays. This in some ways underlines the obvious advantages of a single centralized administration in a small country like Malaya—*e.g.*, strong financial credit, common service for posts, telegraphs, and railways; a common policy for land and labour legislation; central Customs administration, dispensing with the curse of internal Customs stations; a general feeling of knowing where you are, essential for business enterprise.

In short, Federation has meant efficiency, good government, rapid development for Malaya, but it has also meant for the States the continued stagnation of State Councils, which were left next to nothing to do, a consequent lack of interest on the part of leading Malays in public affairs, and a general obscuring of local colour and character. There is something intensely depressing about uniformity, and its worship in official circles is inclined to become a fetish.

Before we turn to the Indian scene it must not be forgotten that the consequences which flowed from the Treaty of 1895 upon the four Malay States were due not so much to anything contained in the Treaty as to the fact that the States were federated at an early stage of their development, when the difficulties confronting their separate governments were overwhelming. They were in a chaotic state, as we ourselves have been at certain periods of our own past history. The consequences would work out very differently if a federation were to take place for the first time today, either among the Federated or Unfederated States. Many of the Rulers are highly educated men with modern ideas. They are men of personality and ability, who have travelled widely. There would be less likelihood of them being smothered. And it must be re-

membered that a certain degree of surrender of powers and position by the federating units is of the essence of any federation. It is mainly because the units have refused to give up anything in the way of sovereignty that the League of Nations has broken down. None of the Indian States on joining a federation can expect to be quite as independent as they are today, and for them it is a question of balancing the advantages of joining against some inevitable contraction of sovereignty.

There are many different circumstances surrounding the proposed Indian federation which make difficult a comparison with Malayan experience.

The Provinces of British India were, until the recent constitutional reforms were put into effect, under a highly centralized government. British India was, in fact, a unitary state. The Simon Report recognizes the general tendency in a federation once formed towards increasing centralization. "It may be asked," says the Report, "why the reverse process is recommended today. The answer is to be found in the peculiar features of the Indian problem. India is moving from autocracy to democracy." *The difficulty of large units makes devolution necessary if democracy is to come about.* The Report says: "A further reason is that it is only in a federal structure that sufficient elasticity can be obtained for the union of elements of diverse internal constitution and of communities at very different stages of development and culture."

It was desired to give self-government to the Provinces of British India as a democratic development and at the same time to unite them, different as they are in character, under a central government in which they will also take part. Federation is part of the process of giving the Provinces democratic autonomy.

But it is the converse with the Indian States. They have already a full measure of local autonomy and they are not under the central Government except as regards control of their foreign policy and liability to intervention if misgovernment arises. Otherwise the States have their own civil services and armies and are masters in their own houses. Why is federation recommended for the Indian States? The answer is given in the Simon Report.

The Report says: "In the course of our enquiries we became more and more convinced of the impossibility of continuing to

look at one half of India to the exclusion of the other." A number of arguments are carefully marshalled in favour of a federation including the States. Common needs; geographic, political, and economic unity; increasing sense of Indian Nationality; the fact that India, not British India, is a member of the League of Nations. India, moreover, is said to be on the road to Dominion status, and if she is to be a Dominion, that Dominion should include the entire sub-continent.

Another important difference between India and Malaya is that provision is made in the Indian proposals for separate and different agreements between the Federation and the acceding State. To quote from the White Paper: "But in the case of every State which accedes, the powers and jurisdiction of the Federation in relation to the State and the subjects of its Ruler will be strictly co-terminous with the powers and jurisdiction transferred to the Crown by the Ruler himself and defined in his Instrument of Accession."

There is thus no question at the start of general control of the States by the centre on a uniform plan as there was in Malaya in 1895.

In other cases an even greater protection will be the undisputed facts that some Rulers are enlightened and progressive and their Governments models of what should be. The fact, too, that they have a highly organized government machinery of their own will render it impossible for the Federation to flood their territories with officers who owe allegiance, not to the State, but to a distant Federal Head. This was one of the main causes of trouble in Malaya.

It may be doubted whether it will matter much where the residuary power of legislation is ultimately left. In Canada residuary power lies with the Federal Government. In Australia it remains with the States, who legislate on everything not expressly reserved for the Federal Government. Yet we have recently witnessed a determined attempt by Western Australia to break free from Federal clutches.

Surely the point of practical importance in considering the probable effects of Accession to the Federation on a State is not so much the terms of the Instrument of Accession but the inherent strength or weakness of the unit. Those which are well-governed

and keeping pace with the times need not fear any diminution of their glory, and need only to realize that joining the Federation must mean giving up something. Those which are backward or indifferently governed may eventually lose much of their identity. Much will depend on the personality of their rulers.

As regards the advantages claimed for such unification, we must point out that in Malaya we have had for some time Federated and Unfederated States existing side by side. If you motored up the country from north to south you would see nothing or little to indicate where Federation ends and Non-federation begins, bar an occasional frontier Customs or police-station. The principles of administration are the same in both. Common policy on such things as railways, posts, and land administration has been obtained by mutual agreement, rendered, it is true, more easy of achievement by reason of treaties, which require the State Governments to take advice from British advisers, but by no means achieved solely because of such advice. In Malaya we shall have both sets of States for many years to come. For we have seen from the Wilson Report: "Everything seems to point to its being some considerable time before the Rulers of the Unfederated States are likely to agree to do more than take part in occasional Durbars or Conferences for the discussion of questions of interest to Malaya as a whole."

The experience of Malaya shows that many of the advantages claimed for federation are to be obtained without it by negotiation and agreement with non-federating units. Arguments for Indian federation based on the advantages of common postal arrangements, etc., are not the most convincing.

It has been shown that some surrender of powers and position by the federating units is of the essence of any federation.

One aspect of the problem is of especial interest. As the Simon Report tells us, "India is moving from autocracy to democracy." The establishment of democracy in the neighbouring Provinces, and the setting up of a Federal Government on a democratic basis, will bring the tides of democracy nearer to the Princes. A Federal Government of which the States were members might well prove to be a useful shock absorber and a shield and buckler against revolution.

THE OPENING OF A COFFEE ESTATE IN THE BABABUDAN HILLS

By R. O. OLIVER

THE Bababudan Hills are one of the finest coffee-growing districts in India, being specially favoured as regards climate, rainfall and soil. They are situated in the north of the Mysore State and are in the form of a horseshoe eighty miles in length, the centre being occupied by a deep valley which gives the impression of a gigantic crater. This valley is covered with thick forests and bamboo; at one time large tracts were cultivated by Ryots driven into this unhealthy and malarious region by the continual raids of the Poligars, but today only a few sparsely populated villages remain. The Hills rise from the plateau of Mysore and are covered with forests, which give way to grass on the high levels, and attain an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The majority of the coffee is planted on the outer slopes of this horseshoe at between 3,000 and 4,500 feet. Such has been the success of coffee-growing on these Hills that it is now difficult to obtain land for development at a suitable elevation below the mist line, which envelops the higher region in the monsoon. Planters living on the Bababudan Hills have besides a healthy climate, a great variety of surroundings, and sport. Above the plantations on the high ground the scenery resembles parts of Exmoor, grassland and woods, which afford excellent sambur stalking, made exciting by the change in the direction of the wind, which often defeats one when circumventing a small hill or wood; to add to this the sambur returns to the woods as the sun strengthens, and a fine stag may casually amble into the jungle before one is able to get within shot. Below the estates is deciduous forest, scrubby jungle and lantana holding deer, tiger and leopard; further to the east are beautiful lakes, which afford good duck shooting during early months in the year.

After growing coffee for ten years I heard a rumour that a block of 100 acres well known to me as good land was in the market. This, after short negotiations, I was able to obtain at a reasonable price.

Some eighty or more years ago an effort had been made to open up this land, but quarrels had arisen between the partners, and the dispute was taken to court. Owing to numerous complications and still further claims pending the settlement, the estate was abandoned. The area under litigation covered 300 acres and was

settled in 1932, when a clean title was given to three brothers, who requested the court to divide the land into three equal shares. It was with one of these Indians that I was able to make a deal and secure the middle portion. The division had been made into three long strips running across the hill from south to north.

On taking up my property in November of the same year I found it necessary to open up an old road which had become completely overgrown with lantana and impenetrable weed which covers large tracts in Mysore. This road, over a mile long, led to the lower share and from there zigzagged through evergreen forest up to my property. Once in the forest, which was free from undergrowth, we were able to examine the lie of the land as a whole.

The whole 300 acres was undulating and lay in a fold in the hills, with a gradient providing a natural drainage not too steep to allow soil erosion during the monsoons. The land was covered with a secondary growth of jungle; these trees had grown to a great height and had a girth of between two and four feet in circumference. They had sprung up close together amongst the large virgin forest trees, which had been saved from the axe when the land had first been cleared, as at that time most large trees were considered good shade.

Coffee in India is grown under the shade of trees. Therefore, in making a clearing, we leave suitable jungle trees that may be used for this shade. Experience has today told us what trees are best suited for this purpose; in the past any tree was left if of suitable size or position.

Out of my 100 acres I found 60 to be of exceptionally good soil, a rich red loam covered with a deep layer of leaf-mould, watered by two perennial streams. Of this I decided to clear and plant 30 acres the first year, the other 30 acres the second season, and leave the remaining 40 acres until the planted land had come into bearing in the fourth or fifth year and refunded me some of my outlay.

The first task was to clear the jungle round my boundaries, which were supposed to be marked by stones, but it was so overgrown that these were not easily seen.

The survey map showed the boundary stones in the jungle subdividing the land into different survey numbers. One of these stones I was shown by an old Indian. After a short search we found three stones denoting my south boundary, and a clear path was cleared between these stones. Measurements were taken and found to coincide with those on the survey map. It is interesting to note that I have always found boundary stones, as placed by the Mysore Survey, exactly correct, but the courses of the streams are usually drawn in and not accurately charted, being merely an

indication, and these must never be taken for granted, as I know to my cost. Having found our south boundaries, two straight paths had to be cut across the hill from the top south-east corner to the top north-east corner, and another from the bottom south-west corner to the lower north-west corner; but this was none too easy; owing to the density of the forest, visibility was limited to a few yards. For this purpose I employed a Government Surveyor, who, after working three days, retired to Chickmagalur to rest. I determined to carry on the work myself. With the help of a plane table I was able to ascertain the angle on which the lines of our two paths should run. Two readings were taken by a prismatic compass, and these readings were followed step by step as we cut the paths, measuring off the distance at every 100 feet with a chain. We knew that if we cut directly in a straight line for fixed distances we should eventually arrive at survey stones in the south-east and north-east corners.

This work required accuracy with constant reading of the compass, and there was the danger of the large quantities of the iron-stone present in the soil affecting its reading. Great was the rejoicing when, after having cut the paths the correct distances, we came upon our boundary stones within a few feet of our paths. The boundaries of our property were therefore demarcated.

I lived on an estate a few miles away, but camped out on the new one when enough room had been cleared for my tents, and from there I returned periodically to my bungalow to look to things at the old estate.

At this estate the labour either comes from the plains of Mysore—these coolies are Canarese—or from south-east of Bangalore in the Madras Presidency—these coolies are Tamil. These men or their families have come year after year, having settled down to the work and formed a habit of liking this particular estate; new labour being obtained through their recommendation. A personal attachment grows up between master and men, each taking a pride in the work of the estate. I hope to build up a labour force of these coolies in the future.

But, in the meanwhile, new labour had to be obtained, and, except for a few who themselves applied, having known or heard of me, the others had to be obtained through a contractor. These workers are not so satisfactory, as they look upon the contractor as their master, who may be miles away, and supply several other estates. It was necessary, therefore, for me to be on the spot as much as possible.

The first task was to make a nursery and plant it with germinated seed in January and then to clear the rest of the land of all but the good-class shade trees before the south-west monsoon broke at the end of June. The land would then be pegged out

and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet-deep pits dug $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. The new seedlings would by then be ready and must be planted in these pits before the end of September.

A few remarks may here be made about the cost of buying land and opening up an area of 60 acres.

Cost of buying 100 acres of land and planting 60 acres of coffee :

100 acres of land	Rs. 8,000
1st Year.—Planting 30 acres	Rs. 7,286
2nd Year.—Planting 30 acres and upkeep on 30 acres planted the previous year	Rs. 8,094
3rd Year.—Upkeep on 60 acres	Rs. 3,365
4th Year.—Upkeep on 60 acres	Rs. 3,011
5th Year.—Upkeep on 60 acres ending Decem- ber, 1937	Rs. 3,373
	<hr/> Rs. 33,129

After the fifth year the estate may be taken to be bearing and should be a paying proposition.

The cost of bringing 60 acres into bearing works out at Rs. 550 an acre.

The value of the property may be taken at Rs. 800 an acre, although an estate in this zone could not be purchased at this figure.

It is possible for a planter with limited capital of about £2,000 to buy land (if he can find it) and start opening a small area, and plant more coffee, when the original planted area is able to pay the cost of opening a further acreage. In this way many planters become in time the owners of estates. The majority of proprietors allow their managers to open up land of their own, as they themselves have probably done in the past.

A place was chosen to form a nursery for the young plants, first ascertaining whether water could be brought to the site. We proposed to divert a portion of a stream higher up and trace a channel following the contours of the land; but in one place, however, a 10-feet-deep cutting some 50 yards long had to be made. This cutting was given out on a lump-sum contract to a Muhammadan contractor, who employed a small gang of labour; he met with no serious obstruction until the work was nearly completed, when unfortunately he encountered a large boulder. After burning and chipping away for several days—dynamite not being easily procurable—his funds were exhausted and he was forced to pay off his labour; much to his credit he carried on the job single-handed. I was so impressed by his honesty and perseverance that I allowed him the help of some of my estate coolies, and in time the stone

was cut through and a fine supply of water brought to the nursery. We now started on felling and chopping up the forest which covered the nursery site. The usual practice when clearing land is to fell, stack and burn; but burned ground does not agree with young plants, so it was necessary to carry all the logs, branches and leaves from off this site and place them round the nursery, which formed a barrier of some 15 feet high and more in breadth. This site had then to be dug to a depth of 2 feet and all stones removed, which are usually stacked round the nursery and form a low wall. After digging for some days with a large gang of coolies we had only completed a small area and had removed an immense amount of stones. We calculated that had we continued in this way we should have had a wall as high and as broad as the Great Wall of China and the cost would have been prohibitive. We were faced with two alternatives—either to have the plants grown off the estate on a plantation three miles away or to make a basket nursery. We decided on the latter course, and procured 40,000 cylindrical bamboo baskets 3 inches in diameter and 9 inches in depth, and a cement cistern was filled with a strong solution of copper sulphate in which to soak the baskets to prevent them from rotting. The baskets were filled with a mixture of two-thirds soil and one-third leaf-mould and were placed in long rows, each row 3 feet wide and 1 foot apart to enable easy watering and weeding. Over this we constructed an awning made of bamboo and leaves and supported on upright poles. Seeds already germinated were placed singly in each basket and watered carefully every evening. Valuable time had been spent in trying to make a plant nursery and by the time taken in laying down the basket nursery. On going through my books I note that these works, which also included building coolie lines, took to the end of March, when it is customary for most coolies to return to their villages until the middle of June. Carrying on with a reduced labour force, 15 acres was felled, lopped and burnt, when the heavy south-west monsoon broke. The remainder could be felled, but the difficulty of burning in heavy rain had to be overcome. After a consultation with my foreman we decided to cut down the small and medium-sized trees and to stack the logs and branches on end round the undesirable forest trees in such a manner that when once well alight the draught would be sufficient for the fires to burn even the wettest logs and kill the trees. One particular forest tree common in this jungle is often hollow, and when fired in this way it is a fine sight to see the flames shooting many feet into the air from the top of this natural chimney.

The estate had become a sorry sight, the land was black in patches, the burnt trees looked like standing corpses, whilst the trees retained for shade appeared scarcely better with their leaves

curled and scorched. As the land became cleared pegs were driven in to mark where the pits were to be dug for the young plants. The lining is done in squares, each plant $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. Accuracy is necessary, as from the number of pegs put in one is able to calculate the acreage completed. A gang of pitters followed the liners. Here a further delay occurred owing to the number of stones in the soil, which resulted in ten to fifteen pits being dug against the normal contract of thirty. After pitting, the holes were filled up, care being taken that no leaves entered the pit, lest they should cause the earth to sink. By September the nursery was full of robust plants, which were carried out in their baskets to the pits. The bottom of the basket was then cut off and the tap root cut level to ensure it not being bent, as a straight root is essential to the coffee tree. In spite of all these setbacks the estate was planted before the end of the north-east monsoon. It is true we could not plant the whole clearing with shade as, owing to delays, we had not had sufficient time before the planting season ended.

The digging cost four times more than estimated, as on digging out the tree stumps we found that they were wedged between large stones which had to be lifted and placed on the surface before the stump could be removed. In the first season the sum of Rs. 7,286 was spent in opening 30 acres, which is Rs. 242 per acre; more than double the average cost.

During the second year all went well; a further 30 acres was opened; the cost of this work, together with the upkeep of the first year planting, amounted to Rs. 8,094; this sum included planting shade in the new clearing and in the portion of the first year's clearing which we had been unable to finish the previous year. In referring to my monthly report at the end of the second year I read: "The original digging of the land was most expensive, due to stones and many tree stumps, but owing to the friable soil the second dig was very easy"—which proves the advantage of a good dig in the first instance. The one-year-old plants had made a wonderful growth; they stood 3 feet high with beautiful dark green leaves, free of disease, looking like children's Christmas trees in shape and colour. The planting in the second year was most successful, and would be even finer after a year's growth than our first planting. It remained to care for the young plants and shade trees, keep the weed down and dig the whole estate each year until the coffee covered the ground; the coffee plants are topped at 3 feet 6 inches; when kept at this height they in time form a sea of green over the ground.

In May, 1935, I went on six months' leave and looked forward to a fine sight on my return. Whilst in England I received reports of heavy wind at the start of the monsoon. The plants

had been staked to prevent them being wind-rung; but with the unusually strong wind and the open nature of the soil, larger stakes had to be cut and hammered 2 feet into the ground to support the plants. This task necessitated neglecting the weeding. It was not until I returned at the end of October and visited the estate that I realized how serious had been the delay. On visiting the estate I found the main portion covered with weed, making it difficult to see the coffee. After the weed had been removed we found the coffee plants had suffered with leaf disease—a most distressing sight—which was heart-breaking after the good start the plants had been given.

During the season 1936-37 the estate produced 1 ton of coffee. It has recovered and taken on the semblance of an estate, and in a year or two good crops should be harvested and find their way to Mincing Lane and figure in the London brokers' catalogue with other famous Bababudan estate marks.

A 60-acre estate is small. I had hoped to obtain the blocks of land above and below. During my absence in England both these blocks were purchased by an Indian neighbour.

If I had not opened my estate I might have obtained the two other pieces, as for some reason the jungle was not thought to be suitable for coffee, but on seeing my one-year-old plants their opinion rapidly changed. My neighbour has opened up his blocks, whilst a considerable acreage of poor land adjoining has been since opened up by other Indians.

In co-operation with all my new neighbours a road has been made leading to these estates; their help over this and other matters has assisted in many ways. We are on excellent terms, and our friendship, I hope, will continue.

Today, instead of the lonely spot at the time of my first visit, where bison, one of the most harmless and beautiful of Indian game, dwelt, it is now a hive of industry. One cannot help feeling regret that for the present all the game have deserted these estates, but in time, as the coffee becomes thick, it will again offer cover to the sambur, the pig and the leopard, but the bison will not return unless the land reverts to its original pristine state.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HYDERABAD

By B. S. TOWNROE

THE bonds of learning between East and West have been strengthened in recent years. Representatives of British Universities and delegates from the British Association to the Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress, who visited the State of Hyderabad, for example, have returned to England much impressed by all that is being done there to foster the cause of learning. Previous articles on town planning and the housing and the health services of the State have shown how great is the solicitude of the Nizam and his advisers for the well-being of his people. Not only in these social services, but in the sphere of education, remarkable progress has been made during the twenty-seven years' rule of His Exalted Highness.

Over fifty years ago a former Nizam in a public proclamation stated: "Nothing will afford me greater pleasure than to see my people living in peace and prosperity, engaged in the development of sources of wealth, in the acquisition of knowledge and cultivation of the arts and sciences, so that by their efforts the country may arise to a high state of enlightenment and the State derive benefit from their knowledge and intelligence."

Encouraged by these words, the then Director of Public Instruction and Education Secretary reorganized his department and established a carefully thought out educational policy. It was decided to provide every town in the State, whose population exceeded 10,000, with an Anglo-vernacular school, and to open in every village a primary school at which the children should receive a vernacular education. Naturally such an ambitious scheme could not be carried out at once, and many of the plans were still only on paper, when in 1907 Sir Akbar Hydari, at that time Mr. A. Hydari, Home Secretary, persuaded the Government to take stock of the educational system. Mr. Arthur Mayhew, then of the Indian Civil Service and now Secretary to the Education Committee at the Colonial Office, was appointed Educational Adviser.

Fortunately the present Nizam, who came to the throne on August 29, 1911, at the age of 25, had had the advantage of an excellent education himself, and was therefore fully in sympathy with the schemes placed before him by his Home Secretary. His Exalted Highness, Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur Fatch Jung, had been taught by distinguished scholars in English, Urdu, Persian, and Arabic. He had not only a strong will and a social

outlook, but also wide knowledge. He determined to do his utmost to bring the benefits of education and culture to his subjects, many of whom were quite illiterate and ignorant. He decided to build on the old institutions, and therefore we find today an almost mediæval village life being guided by schoolmasters and the villagers listening to wireless talks transmitted from the National Broadcasting Station. On the threshold of his rule the Nizam made the memorable declaration, "In every way I will do my best to do good to my people and my country." This was an expression of his determination to build up a modern state with standards as high as those to be found in the most progressive countries of the West.

If only the Greek philosopher Plato had lived in the twentieth century, he might well have recognized in the Nizam the philosopher king of his ideal brought to life; for the Nizam is not only a sovereign inheriting the Mogul tradition, he is also one of the wealthiest men in the world, and in spite of all remains a poet at heart and a man of simple tastes with an extremely frugal way of life. He accepted many of the recommendations made by Mr. Mayhew for the expansion of primary education and the improvement of secondary education. Mr. Mayhew also suggested that the time had come to establish a Hyderabad University. In 1916 the Nizam issued a Firman in which he announced that he had resolved to establish a separate University at which Urdu would be the language of instruction.

Hampered by the effects of the War, by plague, famine, and influenza, the Nizam pressed on with his educational programme. His Director of Public Instruction was Dr. Alma Latifi, who lately retired from the Financial Commissionership of the Punjab. Pupils were given free primary education; training colleges were set up for teachers in both secondary and primary schools; divisional inspectors were appointed and teachers' salaries were raised. The aim of the Director was to provide a high school in the headquarters of every district and middle schools in the taluk headquarters. A special college was set up after the War for the sons of the landed gentry and aristocracy. Women's education also progressed, so that by the end of 1927 there were four training schools for women and many more girls' middle and primary schools.

The depressed classes were not overlooked. From 1917 onwards special primary schools were provided for pupils from the depressed classes. Adults, too, were given their opportunities by the setting up of adult schools, so that those who could not read or write were able to learn.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The Osmania University was opened in 1918. Two years later the Faculty of Education and a teachers' college for the teaching of graduates were established. Separate colleges with thoroughly well-qualified professors, readers and lecturers in medicine and engineering came into being. The various professional and arts colleges have now all been brought together in the one University. On the hills just outside the city have been laid out the Senate House, the Library, the Museum, the Students' Union Hall, and the Colleges of Arts, Law, Agriculture, Forestry, Science, Mathematics, and Engineering. The plans also provide for a Botanic Garden, an open-air swimming bath, a stadium, and a gymnasium. The buildings are claimed to be "an invaluable contribution to that synthetic architecture which has been a peculiar glory of Decanni art under Moslem rule from both the past and the present." In the new buildings may be found the best features of both Hindu and Moslem architecture.

During the period of the building of the Arts College and the University Library primary and secondary education were being rapidly developed under a new Director, Mr. Fazl Muhammad Khan, M.A. According to a report on his work in the period 1927 to 1935, he consolidated the progress made by his predecessor, extended primary education, and developed secondary education for boys and girls.

The four illustrations with this article give some idea of the architecture and surroundings of the growing University. There are two photographs of the Arts College during the building stage, showing its dignified proportions even before completion. The view of the finished Students' Hostel reveals a spacious and attractive block, which will bear comparison with any of the most modern English residential hostels. There is also a photograph of the Botanic Garden.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

He was particularly concerned with the development of physical education. Some of his work is of the more interest in view of the British Government's scheme for the provision of more adequate facilities for physical training and recreation in Great Britain. The four essentials in Great Britain are said to be better accommodation for physical training and games, an adequate allotment of time for physical activities in the curriculum, teachers trained in modern educational gymnastics, and the utilizing of men and women organizers. In Hyderabad an Athletic Associa-

tion was founded in 1919 with the object of encouraging sportsmanship through outdoor games, and Mr. Beall, the Chief Inspector of Physical Education, was the first Secretary. The Boy Scout movement was inaugurated in Hyderabad schools in 1923, when Mr. Mirza Yusuf Khan became Director of Boy Scouts. Since then playgrounds have been laid down, a college of physical education opened, and physical education made compulsory in all schools.

When the Nizam succeeded in 1911 the expenditure on education was Rs. 14 lakhs. Today the annual budget on education is over Rs. 100 lakhs. The number of primary schools has increased from 920 to over 4,300 and of secondary schools from 88 to 186. On his accession the proportion of boys going to school was under 6 per cent. It is now nearly 30 per cent. of the male population of school age. The figures for girls are even more remarkable, for the percentage in 1911 of the female population of school age was 0.7 per cent., and is now nearly 5 per cent. These figures show an increase of institutions and scholars by at least five times. They also reveal that in Hyderabad, as elsewhere in India, education is still far from universal, and that much more remains to be done.

FUTURE POLICY

The problem of the future is how to encourage vocational training and not simply to produce armies of clerks of the black-coated class. Sir Akbar Hydari has shrewdly summarized the present dangers of Indian education, for he recognizes the danger of India becoming a nation of learned beggars. Sir Akbar considers that the need of India today is—

"for trained agriculturists rather than Government clerks; for trained business men rather than clerks; trained engineers, doctors, manufacturers, artists, craftsmen, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, almost anything rather than clerks, because already the supply of trained, or at any rate qualified, clerks is enormously in excess of the demand; while the productive work of the country is largely in untrained and therefore inefficient hands."

The Committee presided over by the late Dr. A. H. Mackenzie made a number of valuable recommendations with a view to carrying into effect Sir Akbar's policy, and these have on the whole been approved by the Nizam. Based on the report, and in order to try and prevent possible unemployment among the educated classes and to equip them better to face the exigencies of modern economic life, a comprehensive scheme for the reorganization of education has been promulgated.

The following is a summary of the new scheme as it has been sanctioned by the Nizam :

Reorganization of Courses

Existing courses and their length :

Primary Classes	...	...	I. to IV.—4 years.
Middle Classes	...	...	V. to VII.—3 years.
High Classes	...	...	VIII. to X.—3 years.
University Classes	...	...	XI. to XIV.—4 years.

Proposed courses and their length :

Primary Classes	...	...	I. to V.—5 years.
Secondary Classes	...	...	VI. to IX.—4 years.
Higher Classes	...	...	X. to XII.—3 years.
University Classes	...	...	XIII. to XV.—3 years.

This reconstruction of education is on parallel lines to the system of vocational training which has now been accepted as the right ideal in British India, and it is worthy of note that Hyderabad State is doing valuable pioneer work in putting ideals into practice.

Each of the stages is inspired with a clear objective. In the primary stage, which will last for five years, children are to be given the minimum of general education, so that they may learn to read and write. Already primary education in Hyderabad is free and pupils are taught in their mother tongue, in Telugu, Marathi, Canarese, or Hindustani.

The secondary and vocational stage will last for four years. In urban schools students will be given manual and craft training and in rural schools agricultural training. This stage is intended to give an opportunity to boys who may have little literary ability but show such practical gifts as to be worth an education beyond the elementary period. At the same time the students during these four years will continue general educational courses, so that those who do well and show intellectual promise may proceed higher up the educational ladder. There is to be a school examination at the end of the second stage.

The third rung on the educational ladder is the high and technical stage. Students will attend various institutions and be prepared for the University or for agriculture or for taking positions of management in commerce and industry or in the State official service. There will be another examination at the end of this stage.

A Statutory Board of Secondary Education will be responsible for the teaching in both secondary and technical schools and for the conduct of the public examinations. The Director of Public Instruction is to be *ex officio* Chairman, and sitting round the table with him will be representatives of varied interests, including the University, the schools, various Government Departments, and also the general public. Up to the present Madras University has exercised control over secondary and university education in

Hyderabad, but the Committee putting forward the reconstruction scheme now adopted were strongly in favour of this control from another State coming to an end in due course.

For it is laid down in the Report that the educational system and courses of study of a country ought to be devised with special reference to its own needs and conditions. The Report states: "It is obvious that the Government of the Dominion cannot express through their educational system their own views regarding the lines of development of education in the State so long as any part of this system is outside their control."

Accordingly, under the new system there will be not only the Statutory Board of Secondary Education, but a Board of Education established by Royal Charter. Further, the Nizam College will become an associated college of the Osmania University, working for the degrees granted by the Osmania University. English is to be the medium of instruction and examination, and the College will be administered by a separate Board of Governors, on which the pro-Vice-Chancellor will be an ex officio member. For the time being, however, it has been decided that the affiliation of the College with Madras University shall continue. One object of this is to assist students whose mother tongue may not be Urdu.

The final and top rung of the ladder will be the University stage lasting for three years. This period will be unbroken by an intermediate examination. The greatest care is to be taken to keep up high standards both at the University and at the Nizam College, and it is hoped that only students likely to benefit will be enrolled.

Based therefore on the experience of well over fifty years, advised by wise educational experts, and directly encouraged by the desire of the Nizam to bring about a higher level of intellectual life among his subjects, this new system is about to be put into force. When the reconstructed scheme has been established the State of Hyderabad will have given a lead to the rest of India in the re-organization of education, controlling, revising, and reforming education in accordance with the country's own needs, and, above all, always keeping the problem of future employment in view. It has already given the lead in using Urdu as the medium of instruction in the University stage, except in the Nizam College, where English is used. These educational reforms will, of course, cost a great deal of money, but the Nizam, without hesitation, has approved. There is, however, one wise safeguard inserted. Every five years progress is to be reviewed, so as to make sure that those responsible are proceeding on the right lines.



OSMANIA UNIVERSITY : FRONT VIEW OF THE ARTS COLLEGE IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION.



OSMANIA UNIVERSITY VILLA OF THE CARDENS

THE GARDENS

THE GARDENS



OSMANIA UNIVERSITY VIEW OF ONE OF THE NEW STUDENTS HOSTELS

Cultural Development in Hyderabad

of the University



STANLEY UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, 1913.

STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

While modern educational ideals are thus being followed, the special treasures of the State are not being overlooked. The temples of Ellora and Ajanta and other places of beauty and historic interest to be found in various parts of the Dominion are being preserved by the State Archaeological Department. Mr. G. Yazdani, who is Director of this Department, in a lecture given to the India Society in London, referred to the good fortune of Hyderabad in possessing a vast number of the most beautiful monuments reared by men of different faith—Buddhist, Jaina, Brahmanical, Moslem, and Christian. Sir Akbar Hydari has been largely responsible for promoting the policy of preserving these rock-hewn temples as a great national heritage, irrespective of the religions with which they are associated. Today they are being explored, examined, and preserved under highly trained archaeologists, and, thanks to the air service, can easily be visited and examined not only by native students of the culture of the Deccan, but by the increasing number of tourists who wish to see the works of a long-forgotten art.

BROADCASTING

Another aspect of education in Hyderabad is the use of broadcasting, especially as a means of reaching remote villages and giving instruction in schemes of rural reconstruction and the popularization of tried methods of cultivation and veterinary knowledge. This instruction is definitely practical. Recently the Information Bureau broadcasted a talk through the Hyderabad State wireless station on the problem of water supply. This explained how in the past failure of the monsoon often led to the evacuation of villages. Today some 1,550 wells have been constructed or remodelled, many on cement concrete platforms, so that the villages might be provided with a protected water supply.

The wireless has also been used for teaching the peasants the simple laws of public sanitation. They were recommended, for example, to fill in all the ditches which, like moats, at one time surrounded many villages, and which are places where mosquitoes breed. Broadcasting has been harnessed to rural reconstructional work. There are now talks, as well as demonstrations, on poultry keeping, goat breeding, fish rearing, fruit and flower gardening and the cultivation of crops. Cottage industries, like hand-weaving, dyeing, and lacquer work, are being encouraged. Day schools for children and night schools for adults are being opened under the direction of the village schoolmaster.

With a view to developing the influence of the wireless still further and as an aid to education mixed with recreation, a State Broadcasting Department has been established. With the construction of the new transmitting station at Saroonagar and another at Aurangabad, this new department is in the course of a thorough reorganization so as to be able to carry out its duties of rural and urban broadcasting with efficiency and a wider public appeal. Transmission is a State monopoly in Hyderabad and a new regulation is about to be introduced levying a licence fee on broadcast receivers. The scheme of expansion consists of the establishment of two further stations, one in Gulbarga and the other in Warangal. While broadcasting from the station in Hyderabad is being done in Hindustani and English, the district stations will broadcast through the media of Hindustani and the language of the area they will be serving. The Information Bureau has also enlarged its functions connected with Press and publicity. Besides keeping the public informed, it serves as a useful medium of contact between the Press and the Government.

Other developments, such as the expansion of external trade, the improvement of transport of rail, road and air, the spread of irrigation schemes, famine relief measures, and public health services have all had an educative effect.

The Indian Science Congress, which celebrated its 25th meeting in January, and was attended by men and women drawn from almost every British University, was one sign out of many of the increasing contacts between the culture of the Western world and of Asia. Dr. Ernest Barker described in *The Times* how he had spent some time at Hyderabad among the laboratories and hostels of the new Moslem Osmania University, which "is already in large part, and planned to be altogether, a residential university, and which is growing apace under the fostering care of the Nizam's Government." He paid this tribute to educational progress in Hyderabad and elsewhere in India: "This contact with Indian universities has been an education; it has vivified what had been names into living realities; it has shown us, at first hand, the buildings, the equipment, the teachers, and the students (growing and growing from year to year in number) of some of the most lively, the most crowded, and the most eager of the universities of the British Empire."

THE HYGIENE CONFERENCE IN JAVA: SOME OF THE LEADING PERSONALITIES

BY A. S. HAYNES, C.M.G.

(Malayan Civil Service, retd.)

DR. J. OFFRINGA was the President of the Conference. He is the Director of the Netherlands Indian Public Health Service, with headquarters at Batavia. To realize the importance of this post one must visualize firstly the island of Java with 45 million inhabitants; add to that the rest of the Netherlands Indies, making a total population of some 60 millions, about equal to the sum of the population of all the territories under our Colonial Office. The maximum length of the Netherlands Indies from west to east is equal to the distance from Ireland to the Black Sea; from north to south it is equal to the distance between the White Sea and Rome.

Courteous and calm, Dr. Offringa had the rare quality of permitting himself to speak only when speech was necessary, an invaluable gift at a Conference. After the Conference many of the delegates spent a few days travelling in Java to see something of the admirable system of medical work, both preventative and curative, which has been built up by the Dutch throughout this great island. And it is not too much to say that not one of the delegates of any of the countries concerned left the Netherlands Indies without a feeling of warm appreciation towards Dr. Offringa for the self-effacing manner in which he carried out his duties as President. On the last night, work being over, at a farewell dinner given by Dr. and Mrs. Offringa, there were opportunities of expressing that appreciation. They were taken: the dinner lasted from 10.30 p.m. till 1.30 a.m.

Sir MIRZA ISMAIL, the Dewan of Mysore, was the leader of the Indian delegation. He is a statesman of broad outlook and progressive ideas, and revealed himself in this rôle through the address he gave as leader of his delegation. After a fitting tribute to the Government of the Netherlands Indies for their generous welcome and admirable arrangements, he expressed his appreciation of the opportunity of learning something of the scientific and administrative methods followed in that country. "It has been a matter of surprise to me that there should have been so little collaboration between this country and India in dealing with problems which are common to both." The fact is, the Conference opened the eyes of all the delegates to the magnificent accom-

plishments of the Dutch in their administration of Java. They have been in that island for three hundred years; and if every country in Europe (to go no further) could say that its people were as happy as the people of Java, the world itself would be a happier place. Doubtless many of the delegates had some book knowledge of the Netherlands Indies; but their visit brought revelation and understanding and crystallized these into valuable experience, which each has taken back to his own country. Already an achievement for the Conference.

Sir Mirza dealt illuminatingly with the condition of the Indian peasant; with nutrition, stressing the rice milling problem; with malaria; and with soil fertility, urging the return to the soil of all the waste products which have come out of it, "turning waste to wealth by composting." His final observation on the future was hopeful and constructive. He was the President of Commission No. 2 on Rural Reconstruction. One of the most pregnant recommendations of this commission noted that there were successful examples of rural reconstruction in various countries and requested the League of Nations to collect and make available information regarding them.

Dr. W. R. AYKROYD is Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratory at Coonoor in South India, and was a member of the Indian Delegation. That nutrition is fundamental is a commonplace; that the difficulties of improvement in the East are prodigious is known to all. Dr. Aykroyd brought a trained mind to bear on these problems; and in clear and vivid English, to which it was a delight to listen, explained the needs and the difficulties, and then made practical proposals. He quoted Sir Mirza Ismail to the effect that the Conference was concerned with half the human race and that these nine hundred millions do not form a homogeneous population.

He urged that recommendations must be of a severely practical nature. "Public health workers tend to become sternly realistic in outlook, and they cannot expect to pay much attention to schemes which, however admirable on paper, are a strain on financial resources and unlikely to produce immediate practical results." This telling note resounded throughout all the deliberations of the Conference; it was a meeting of practical workers whose unanimous recommendations were framed with a view to action. And so recommendations about diet must bear in mind economic and social realities, and methods must be thought out by which existing diets can be slightly improved and yet remain within the means of those consuming them.

Within the limits of space, I can touch on only two points more. Dr. Aykroyd urged the importance of liaison between nutrition workers and agricultural departments. The aims of nutrition re-

search, agricultural research, and agricultural departments are *essentially the same: to improve the food of the people*. The findings of the nutrition worker can be given effect only through agriculture, and it is rational that these should be made the basis of agricultural policy. Will this really be acted on and not overlooked? The central government of a country cannot attend to everything; let us hope that the departments of governments concerned will adopt this attitude in their day-to-day work. And in this work of co-operation between nutritionists and agriculturists the writer would suggest that they get down to the fundamental question of the soil itself; for, as has been pointed out, *impoverishment of the soil brings a whole train of evils: poor quality of pasture, of stock and therefore of meat, of vegetables and other foods*. There is a wide belief, based on the observation and experience of many people, that proper soil conditions are necessary to grow proper food, and that the processes of nature which returns all wastes to the soil are better than the artificial stimulation common today.

Dr. Aykroyd did not omit reference to the rice problem. There is in the East a problem of polished or milled rice analogous to that of white bread in Western countries; but it is one of infinitely greater gravity. Rice is the staple diet in most of the Eastern countries, and the age-long custom has been to eat it in its most nutritious form—that is to say, with the husk only removed leaving all its vital elements intact. But the mechanical milling of today removes in the process many of these vital elements, and outbreaks of beriberi often result. Without, however, reaching the condition of actual disease, there is an impairment of health and vitality as the result of diet amongst poor people whose food consists almost solely of a rice milled to this degree. The use of milled rice is extending year by year in rural areas, and this makes the problem more urgent.

Dr. Aykroyd was hopeful that something might be done to check further extension, to encourage the use of unmilled or partially milled rice in boarding schools and government institutions and to make such rice easily available everywhere. In the report of the Conference definite recommendations were made on these and further points.

Finally, I cannot omit this pregnant sentence which everyone would be wise to absorb: "I have been struck in the course of our investigations by the remarkable results, in the shape of improvement in general health, which may follow an amelioration of diet; and one finds that, in a strange manner, diseases which have been ascribed to this or that parasitic or microbic agent simply disappear as the result of a little more food of the right kind to eat."

Professor T. SAIKI is well known as the Director of the Imperial Institute of Nutrition Research in Tokyo. He was one of the three rapporteurs on nutrition, the other two being Dr. Aykroyd and Dr. A. G. van Veen of the Netherlands Indies. His technical remarks were not always easy for the non-expert to follow. But when he came on to his personal creed as regards rice he was illuminating. His researches have convinced him of the grave dangers inherent in milled rice. And touching on his personal experience he said in effect: "I am a rice eater. In Japan I never eat milled rice (often called polished or white rice); I eat only under-milled rice. This good rice can be got everywhere in Japan; the Emperor has made known that he eats it and people follow his good example. But when I leave Japan I cannot get it. On the steamer coming to this Conference I could get only 'white' rice; again in the hotels in Singapore and Java only 'white' rice; on the trains only 'white' rice." This simple relation of fact made a cogent appeal, at any rate in my ears.

In spite of the thorny nature of the problem, governments must show that they have the interest and the vigour to tackle this great nutritional question. For the first time a Conference has reached unanimity on the subject and made clear-cut recommendations. Those recommendations simply cannot be pigeon-holed.

Dr. P. M. DOROLLE, a brilliant young member of the medical service in French Indo-China, was secretary of the delegation from that country. I believe I am right in attributing to him the composition of the very fine Indo-China report which was, in common with all the other national reports, circulated some months before the Conference. He had been detailed by his government the previous year to accompany the members of the Preparatory Commission on their tour through Indo-China. We had spent most of the long hot day in a Siamese train; in the torrid heat of the afternoon we left the train at Aranya on the frontier, and were met there by our guide, cool, fresh, debonair. Our rapid and complete tour was made possible only by the competence of his organizing power; and our enjoyment of it was heightened by his pleasant companionship. At the Conference Dr. Dorolle was one of the rapporteurs for the subjects of Health and Medical Services; it goes without saying that a clear and concise account was given of the principles governing their organization, their personnel, their curative and preventative agencies, and of budgets. In French Indo-China the gradual displacement of European doctors by their Indo-Chinese colleagues, inevitably less highly paid, as they serve in their own country without the risks and expense attendant on expatriation, will make it possible to employ a more numerous staff without increasing expenditure.

Dr. J. L. HYDRICK, Adviser for the Hygiene Organization of

the Netherlands Indian Public Health Service, was Chairman of Commission No. 1 on Health and Medical Services. His youthful appearance tends to conceal the greatness of his work in Java. It is based on simplicity and getting down to fundamentals. A well-qualified observer states that he was impressed with the smoothness with which the activities fit into the normal village life. There are no shocks of suddenly imposed measures, but the activities are so planned that they quietly and gradually penetrate and become a part of normal village life. There is simplicity of the materials and methods, and simplicity of approach; and the effectiveness of this simplicity is obvious.

Dr. Hydrick has based his activities on the following quotation from an American source: "Doing things to people is often easy, but it is expensive and of temporary benefit. Showing people how to do things for themselves may take a little time, but it is relatively inexpensive and its results are lasting. Moreover the people are strengthened by the latter process and weakened by the former."

These principles are put into force in intensive health units, the most striking of which is the Health Unit at Poerwokerto (Banjoemas). The Preparatory Commission had the privilege of being shown in detail the work of this unit; it made a profound impression. No one interested in the subject should fail to read his book *Intensive Rural Hygiene Work in Netherlands India*. In addition to the interest of the text it is full of the most illuminating photographs. It is perhaps a common feeling that one knows, broadly speaking, what public health work is in such countries, and that it is almost impossible to get the people of them to change their insanitary habits, and so on. With the reading of this book will come a realization of the general ignorance and a pleasant translation into a new land full of hope. The dark cloud of financial difficulties is also lightened. Apart from the ultimate gain by which better health increases economic capacity and productive power, the initial steps are made lighter by a wise adaptation of native methods and materials, resulting from the patient and accurate observation of native life. Those who will follow up the reading of the book by personally visiting the Health Unit will appreciate these methods and be put in the way to urge on their administrations the wisdom of applying them.

One cannot leave Dr. Hydrick without referring to the great exhibition organized for the Conference: he was responsible for that striking section which illustrated in lifelike forms of technical skill and beauty the intensive hygiene work and education of the Netherlands Indies Public Health Service.

Dr. SPENCER HATCH was one of the Indian delegation, being sent by the State of Travancore. He is District Secretary of the

Y.M.C.A. for that State and Cochin. He is an American citizen, has a degree in agriculture and is a doctor of philosophy. These are qualities of head: the qualities of his heart are revealed in his work and his life, almost synonymous terms. He had the distinction of being the only one of all the delegates, at this inter-governmental Conference, who did not hold some government position. His selection was a tribute not only to his own qualities, but also to the broadminded wisdom which rules in Travancore. For perhaps no one brought a greater contribution to this great assembly. His contribution was a successful example of actual rural reconstruction in being.

Most of us approached rural reconstruction with a view to discuss, learn, plan, urge, and plead. Dr. Hatch came bringing an exhibit in the case, a concrete instance of what has been accomplished at Martandam in Travancore, and an example of what can be accomplished elsewhere. Lord Willingdon, late Viceroy of India, in a foreword to Dr. Hatch's book,* records his personal knowledge of the good service done by Dr. Hatch in his endeavours to improve the conditions of the rural classes. The central principle of his work is self-help with intimate, expert counsel.

"The villager," wrote Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey, "has the keen instincts of a man who lives very close to nature; he will not be persuaded by those whom he has not learnt to trust, charm they never so wisely, and he will not trust those who do not seem prepared to put aside all other claims and considerations, in order to live with him, to learn his troubles, and to support him through them." Dr. Hatch possesses and practises these qualities; he has thus succeeded in what many might call the impossible. A recommendation of the Conference, already mentioned, calls upon the League of Nations to collect and make available information regarding successful examples of rural reconstruction. It is presumed that this will be done. What attention will governments pay to these examples when collected?

Amongst Dr. Hatch's secrets are two which (if an Irishism be permitted) lie open and revealed to all. The first is his spirit of self-sacrifice; the second, like unto the first, is that success means success for his work not for himself.

Mr. R. Boyd, of the Malayan Civil Service, was leader of the Malayan delegation. Mr. Boyd is Director of Co-operation in Malaya; the organization and system of work in his department are based on the Indian model taken from the Punjab. In his opening speech he pointed out that the problem of rural hygiene in Malaya is largely the problem of the Malay peasant. "The Malay of the *kampung* (village) is a person of great charm; and

* *Up from Poverty*. By D. Spencer Hatch. Oxford University Press.

in the simplicity of his outlook he is but little stirred to action by the prospect of wealth or by the fear of loss. He will listen to advice with patience and courtesy, but he will weigh it in his own balance, and it is not unlikely that the acceptance or rejection of it will depend more on his estimate of the character and understanding of the giver than on the quality or the substance of the advice itself."

Mr. Boyd is a realist and does not minimize the difficulties of approach. But to see those difficulties clearly is the first step towards overcoming them, and the Co-operative Department has already been surprisingly successful in a field which is admittedly thorny and has often met with cynicism where support would have been fitting.

In his speeches he passed from grave to gay with a mysterious facility; at one and the same time funereal and frolicsome, lugubrious and light-hearted, sombre and sportive, woebegone and waggish, he would cause us to rock with laughter and sit down to make us sit up and wonder where he had led us. And with his Irish temperament he would often put a spoke in an agreeably revolving wheel, with the stimulating effect of inducing a little deeper consideration.

He does not wear his heart on his sleeve; it is firmly planted in his work. And to those who know him intimately his zeal for his work is of the missionary order, wisely tempered with a sagacious realism.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928), of which the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, was Chairman, urged local governments to give the co-operative movement all the encouragement which it lies within their powers to give. A high authority in India expressed to the writer the opinion that co-operation was the sole hope of salvation for the peasant. A French Indo-China report has it "*l'association devient la condition indispensable du succès; elle apporte aux agriculteurs connaissances et capitaux, elle est elle-même un merveilleux instrument de propagande civilisatrice.*" Similar views could be quoted from Siam and from Java. Mr. Boyd labours in good company.

Dr. P. F. RUSSELL, of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, now working in Madras, was appointed by that government as a member of the Indian delegation. He was chairman of the technical committee on malaria. The other members of that committee were Dr. Morin of French Indo-China, Major Mulligan of India, Dr. Overbeck of Java, Dr. Pampana of the Health Section of the League of Nations, Dr. Soesilo of Sumatra, and Dr. U. Tin of Burma. And they produced a most valuable report.

"Malaria kills more people and does more damage to physical,

social, and economic welfare in rural portions of Far Eastern countries (especially in the tropics and sub-tropics) than any other disease." These striking words form the prelude to their recommendations. Every administrator in these countries should read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest all they say. I can select only two points: the importance of naturalistic methods of control, and the necessity of co-operation between health officers and engineers to avoid engineer-made malaria, the amount of which in some countries is said to be appalling. Dr. Russell is a big man in more than one sense of the term, and is not daunted by the magnitude of the problem. He enjoys the great benefit of practical working experience over years in various countries such as the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, Malaya, and India; what they tell him cannot be done in one country he can often tell them is being done in another country. Happy is the land which enjoys the gift of his services. He is patient, persistent, persuasive, and practical. Being both serious and humorous he is irresistible; but you don't feel that you are being swallowed.

Dr. L. RAJCHMAN is well known in many countries as the Director of the Health Section of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Can those who read these ineffective words realize the burden he sustained as General Secretary of the Conference? No one at the Conference failed to recognize it. He was everywhere and did everything. I believe he went to bed sometimes, because some members of his staff told me that they did occasionally for a few hours. But in view of what was accomplished during the ten days of the Conference belief is not easy. We saw it being performed daily—and nightly—and yet no one quite understood how it was done.

Within a couple of days of the closing session the complete proceeding had been despatched by air to Geneva. *Res ipsa loquitur*. And yet there was very much more than is printed in the published Report.*

It is left to the imagination to number the difficulties in organizing a Conference embracing all the nations of the East and the Western Pacific, not on the spot but ten thousand miles away; and again in directing the secretarial side during the Conference itself with efficiency and promptitude. Dr. Rajchman was the first to give credit to the admirable help both of the Netherlands Indies officials and of his own staff. But there was not a single delegate who did not appreciate and acknowledge the full measure of credit due to the driving power and organizing ability of the General Secretary. It was a *tour de force*.

There were many personalities. I have selected only a few. The omissions are many. But I set out to give a selection, not

* Series of League of Nations Publications. III. Health. 1937. III., 17.

compile a catalogue. Yet, as I write, the delightful companionship of Bandoeng is vividly before me; and I see many familiar faces of friends old and new whose voices I would fain make heard. *Apa boleh buat?* in the Malay language of the country.

I will conclude with a brief epitome. The Conference was under the auspices of the League of Nations, the only body which could have initiated such a gathering under such conditions of complete and competent preparation and organization. Japan, though not a member of the League, sent a delegation. All these nations had assembled, in a common and noble endeavour, to promote not merely the health but the general well-being and happiness of half the human race.

The result has been a series of most carefully considered recommendations, framed from the pooling of the views and experience of not only health and medical officers but administrators and experts in nutrition, agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, education, co-operation, and social sciences—experts, moreover, who are at the same time engaged in practical work.

These recommendations will go to the governments concerned. It is to be hoped that they will be given the consideration due to such a body of opinion, and that they will be put into effect according to the needs and capacities of the varying countries.

This much is certain. There is a stirring in Asia and elsewhere. The time for mere consideration is past. The time for action has come. The duty of States towards the cultivator on the land calls for it; economic progress and stability demand it; the health and happiness of the countryside compel it.

THE INDIAN OPIUM TRADE: AN HISTORICAL REVIEW

By H. B. DUNNICLIFF, M.A., SC.D., F.I.C.

(Chemical Adviser, Central Board of Revenue, Finance Department,
Government of India.)

WHEN the ripe capsules of the large white poppy, *Papaver somniferum* L., are lanced on the growing plant, a white, pale yellow or pink juice exudes. On exposure to the air, coagulation takes place and this latex becomes increasingly viscous and simultaneously changes colour until it is finally darkish brown and quite hard. This product is called "opium," and is best known as the source of the important alkaloid, morphine, commonly called "morphia." When this material is subjected only to the necessary manipulation for packing and transport, it is known as "raw opium"; that from the United Provinces being designated as "Benares opium," while the product from certain States in Rajputana and Central India is called "Malwa."

"Prepared opium"* is obtained from raw opium by a series of special operations, particularly dissolving, boiling, roasting and fermentation, designed to transform it into an extract suitable for consumption. This includes "dross" and all other residues remaining when opium has been smoked.

"Medicinal opium"† is raw opium which has undergone the processes necessary to adapt it for medicinal use in accordance with the requirements of the national pharmacopœia, whether powdered, granulated or otherwise, or mixed with neutral materials.

RAW OPIUM

Raw opium is brown and soft inside; it has a characteristic smell and a bitter taste.

The variety of raw opium sold and exported to administrations in the Far East until 1935 was called "provision opium," and was made up into spherical "cakes" containing about 71 per cent. of dry opium. They were packed in wooden chests, each containing forty cakes and weighing about one hundred and forty pounds. The morphine content was from 10 to 11 per cent. calculated on the dry opium, loss of morphine during the period which immediately succeeds the collection of opium from the poppy head being eliminated by making the cakes after the lapse of one or even two years.

* The Hague Convention, Chapter II.

† Dangerous Drugs Convention, 1925.

For over a hundred and fifty years, export was permitted only via Calcutta or Bombay, but the sale of provision opium has been stopped since December, 1935. The other form of raw opium—i.e., medical opium—is exported from India only in execution of definite orders from manufacturing chemists approved by the High Commissioner for India under a licence from the British Home Office. It contains 87 per cent. of opium and about 10.5 per cent. of morphine as required by the British Pharmacopœia.

Opium waste products and contraband opium are used for the manufacture of morphine and other opium alkaloids. Excise opium is used in medicine, but a large quantity of Indian opium is eaten in harmless quantities. Selected chalans of raw opium used in the preparation of medicines contain from 9.5 to 10.5 per cent. morphine.

MEDICAL OPIUM

Opium solely for medical use is said to have been introduced into China by the Arabs. Dr. Eakins of the Chinese Customs Service states that the poppy was cultivated very early in Italy and that, at the time of the last of the Roman Kings, it was commonly sown in gardens. As the Arabs studied Greek medicine and practised it, opium became well known among them by its Greek name *ὀπλίον* or poppy juice.

After Baghdad was founded in A.D. 763, the Arabs of the Caliphate started trading in drugs and ultimately reached Canton, where the first mention of the cultivation of the poppy in China in the eighth century is made. So long ago as 1589, and again in 1615, opium appears in Chinese tariffs as an article paying import duty which was fixed by an Imperial decree in 1722. Opium smoking was first prohibited in 1799, not so much on moral grounds as in consequence of the drain of silver from the country.

Subsequently, the Dutch and the Portuguese supplied some of the drug, and the opium sent to Java and China yielded enormous profits. The small quantities of Malwa opium imported formed part of the return cargo of Chinese junks and were used entirely as a domestic remedy for dysentery, diarrhoea and fevers.

Akbar, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, found opium a characteristic product of Cambay and Malwa. The Moghul Government farmed out the right to produce opium and looked upon this as a state monopoly. As a result of Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 and the Emperor's cession of the Diwani eight years later, the monopoly of opium cultivation passed from the Moghuls into the hands of the East India Company. The former system was replaced by a Government monopoly of manufacture and export, with the intention of restricting excessive consumption in India without regard to the effect on consumers in other parts

of the world. A large trade, however, had been going on in opium between India and the surrounding countries long before the Company had undertaken the supervision of its manufacture in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1773. At first the system of farming the exclusive right of opium manufacture was continued, but this was found to entail many abuses. Indian contractors paid only a royalty to the Company and the consequences were very injurious to the revenue. In 1758, the contract had been sold to the highest bidder on a four years' agreement, and this system was in force when Lord Cornwallis arrived. The duties of the Company's servants, when once the contract had been signed, were limited to a general right of enquiry in order to prevent the oppression of the cultivators. In 1787, the system of agency was revived through commercial residents.

Under the state monopoly, no person might cultivate the poppy except with a licence from the Government, and every cultivator was bound to sell the opium produced from his crops to the Government, which possessed two factories, one at Patna and the other at Ghazipur, where it was manufactured into the opium of commerce. A portion of the manufactured opium was retained for consumption in India through vendors licensed by the Excise Department and the remainder sold monthly by auction in Calcutta to merchants, who exported it.

Until 1767, the business with China in the hands of the Portuguese was relatively small, being only about 200 chests per annum, but, by 1790, there was an increase to 4,054 chests a year. About this time, the habit of opium smoking began to spread in China and was an incentive to the extension of poppy cultivation in China itself. The East India Company established an opium depôt at the entrance of the Canton river and the trade continued to increase. At first the East India Company attempted to restrict the use of opium to medical purposes, but that policy was eventually abandoned as impracticable.

THE OPIUM WAR

China continued to be the chief customer for Indian opium in spite of its prohibition by the Chinese Government. In 1834, a decree was issued by the Emperor of China against opium and its importation, and edicts forbade the entrance of opium-laden ships into the river, but, in spite of this, exports reached 7,000 chests per annum. Ineffective complaints from the Chinese authorities culminated in the war of 1839, commonly known as the Opium War, the immediate cause being the seizure and destruction of 20,291 chests by the Chinese Government.

After Captain Elliot, the British representative, had seized the

forts about Canton, a preliminary treaty was drawn up in January, 1841, but it was subsequently disavowed by both the Chinese and the English Governments. Lord Palmerston directed Sir Henry Pottinger, the newly appointed Envoy and Superintendent of the British Trade in China, to replace this treaty by a satisfactory compact which should open China to British trade, but, before his arrival in China, the arrogance of the Chinese Commissioners had led to a renewal of hostilities. Sir Hugh Gough carried anew the forts about Canton in May, 1841, and, while he was preparing to attack the town itself, Pottinger reached Macao. A further display of force being necessary, the two co-operated and, with Sir William Parker, captured Amoy, Chusan, Chintu, Ningpao and the great fortified city of Ching-Keang-Foo. On June 13, 1842, the Yangtze river was entered with the object of taking Nanking itself. After many successes on the way, an assault on that city was imminent in July when Pottinger announced that the Chinese were ready to treat for peace on a satisfactory basis. Eventually peace was signed on August 29, 1842, on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* before Nanking. By the Treaty of Nanking, Hongkong was ceded to England and an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars was paid to the English, while the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-foo, Ningpao and Shanghai were opened to English traders and English Consuls were to be appointed to each. The legitimate trade in opium by the East India Company for the half century preceding the Opium War had involved five hundred million dollars, of which 60 per cent. was profit.

After 1858, the year in which the Treaty of Tientsin was signed, the Chinese Government had a perfectly free hand in the matter of the importation of opium, subject to a duty of 30 taels per chest being levied thereon, but, in the treaty itself, there was no mention of or allusion to the opium trade. The drug was scheduled in the tariff as a foreign medicine, but the amount taken from India was relatively small. However, in 1870, the exports from India amounted to 55,000 chests and increased to 95,000 chests in 1880. An agreement called the Chefoo Convention was arrived at on September 13, 1876, between the Governments of Great Britain and China, in which the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, promised to move his Government to make certain special arrangements as to the import of opium. These arrangements were finally carried out by an additional article, signed in London in 1885, which provided for an addition to the import duty of 30 taels per chest already imposed. This extra duty was 80 taels per chest, freeing the opium at the same time from any further duty or tax whilst being transported in the interior.

About this time the Chinese began to grow their own opium and the export of the Indian product declined to 50,000 chests in 1907. The following statistics of the opium trade between India and China will, however, be of interest:

Period.	Average Annual Export from India to China.	
	Opium. Rx†	Per Cent.*
1827. (Statistics imperfect at this period)	1,058,252	54
1833-35. East India Company monopoly expired 1834 ...	1,955,236	66
1837-46. Preceding the Opium War	3,209,958	69
1842-46. After Treaty of Nan-king	3,712,920	74
1854-58. Preceding the Second China War	6,365,319	72
1859-62. After Treaty of Tient-sin	9,540,211	87
1878-82. Under Chefoo Con-vention	11,909,815	84
1883-87	9,770,775	75
1888-91	8,207,818	58½

OPIMUM COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

The year 1895 was noteworthy for the report of the Commission appointed by an Act of Parliament in 1893 to enquire into the extent of opium consumption in India, its effects on the physique of the people and the suggestion that the sale of the drug be prohibited except for medicinal purposes. The Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Brassey reported that there had been much exaggeration regarding the evil effects of opium consumption. They declared that it was for China to take action if she desired to prohibit the importation of the drug, that state control was necessary and that the Indian exchequer could not afford at that time to surrender the revenue from opium.

Opium factories had been in existence at Ghazipur‡ in the United Provinces and at Patna§ in Bihar (Bengal) since early in the

* Per cent. of total value of all exports from India to China.

† Rx was the symbol for Rs. 10, formerly equivalent to £1 or nearly so.

‡ The oldest building was constructed about 1810 and was added to on many subsequent occasions. The *Gazetteer* states that the site was acquired in 1820. It is possible that land other than that already in occupation was acquired in that year.

§ The date of the opening of the Patna factory is not on record.

nineteenth century. In 1895, the exports from India to China were 51,000 chests of 140 lbs. each. According to an English expert, the Chinese production at that time was 360,000 chests, while a Chinese contemporary gave the figure as six lakhs (6,00,000).

An export duty was levied on every chest of opium when it left the Indian States in transit, while the British Government reserved to itself the monopoly of Malwa opium. This was purchased by the Resident at Indore and sold by auction at Bombay or Calcutta. In 1831, on account of the large amount of opium smuggled to the Portuguese settlement on the coast, the monopoly, which caused much undesirable interference in Indian States, was relinquished, and trade was opened to private enterprise, revenue being recovered in the form of duty on passes to cover transit of Malwa opium through British territory. All opium intended for export to Bombay was, however, to be sent by certain specified routes and the Ruling Princes had to prevent smuggling in their respective territories.

The average number of chests in the five years ending 1900-1901 was about 2,400, the average number exported by sea from Bombay being about 2,300, the rest of the Malwa opium being consumed in India.

In 1907, besides Bengal and the United Provinces, the only Province in British India where poppy cultivation was allowed was the Punjab. Outside British India, the Indian States of Central India, Rajputana (Malwa) and Baroda cultivated it.

Poppy seeds are eaten parched or worked up as a condiment in the preparation of food. They are mostly used for expression of the oil, which is edible and used largely as a substitute for and to adulterate salad oil. It is also used as a burning oil, in soap making and in the paint and varnish industries. The oil cake is rich in nitrogen and is eaten by poor people and by cattle.

In that year—1907—the Government of India concluded an agreement by which the amount of opium exported to China was to be reduced by 10 per cent. annually, provided that there was a similar decrease in production in China and in the imports from Persia and Turkey. After this undertaking had been in force for three years, the Government of India was satisfied that the Chinese were fulfilling their agreement, and, after a further period of three years, exports to China were discontinued.

By this discontinuance of the export of opium to China, the Government of India suffered a very heavy loss of annual revenue.

Unfortunately, in 1916, a reversion of policy took place in China which, chiefly in Szechuen, Yunnan and Kweichow, now produces more opium than any other country in the world; in fact, the development of poppy growing has been so great there

that it has seriously interfered with the cultivation of cereals, and has therefore been prohibited in some parts of China.

In order to supplement and safeguard as far as possible their agreement with China, the Government of India simultaneously limited the sale of opium to other Far Eastern countries by subjecting their exports to restraining agreements.

In 1923, a certificate procedure was introduced as proposed by the League of Nations, by which all exports of opium from India had to be covered by the Government of the importing country, which was required to declare that the import was approved and that it was required for legitimate purposes; but no issues have been made under this head since 1931.

In 1925, the Government of India discontinued the auctioning of opium for export and undertook the business direct, their policy for many years having been only to supply Governments and not merchants or private individuals. Finally, in the following year, the Government of India decided to reduce exports to Far Eastern countries for other than medical and scientific purposes by 10 per cent. annually, so as to extinguish exports by December, 1935. Effect has been given to this decision at great financial sacrifice, as will be seen by a comparison of the figures for exported opium for 1911-14 with those of the past ten years. Between 1914-15 and the present time India has ceded no less than one and a quarter million pounds of annual revenue in its effort to improve the world situation with respect to the trade in undesirable drugs.

Year.	No. of Chests.	Values in Lakhs of Rupees (1 Lakh = 1,00,000).
1911-12	26,860*	748
1912-13.	—	—
1913-14	9,070†	192
—	—	—
1926-27	8,012	336
1927-28	7,531	301
1928-29	6,194	248
1929-30	5,500	220
1930-31	4,481	179
1931-32	3,911	156
1932-33	1,161	43
1933-34	2,823	113
1934-35	663	27
1935-36	257	10

* Excluding 10,607 chests of Malwa opium shipped from Bombay.

† Excluding 10,341 chests of Malwa opium shipped from Bombay.

‡ Excluding the quantity of Malwa opium shipped from Bombay, exact figures not available.

Although the Bihar agency was not closed till 1912, the Patna factory ceased manufacture in 1911, though it continued to exist as a dying concern till 1913, but the Ghazipur factory was maintained and is in operation at the present time.

SCIENTIFIC CONTROL AND RESEARCH

Increasing attention has been paid to the scientific control of the manufacture of standard opium for sale. Experts have been employed periodically to enquire into the industry and, for nearly thirty years, the technical side of the manufacture has been under the control of a chemist at Ghazipur in the United Provinces. For an account of the chemistry of Indian opium and its alkaloids and research work, reference may be made to the author's article in *Nature*, 1937, 140, 92.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OPIUM

The main products of the factory at Ghazipur are Abkari or Excise opium, medical opium cake and medical opium powder for use in India, and certain alkaloids. Excise opium provides the principal out-turn of the factory, which is sold at cost price to Provincial Governments. It is of standard quality and contains from 9.5 to 10.5 per cent. of morphine on the dried product, but usually contains about 10 per cent. of moisture when marketed. Excise opium is a blend of natural opium produced in different areas of cultivation and is only dried for purposes of standardization and caking. Fresh Malwa opium containing not more than 6 per cent. of oil is acceptable for the manufacture of excise opium, but it has to be mixed with non-oily opium from the Indian States or the United Provinces in order to make a blend of opium of standard composition.

"HARD BALL" OPIUM

In addition to Benares and Malwa opium, "hard ball" opium is sometimes accepted at the factory from the Indian States to blend with excise opium, though its quality is inferior to that of fresh opium of other kinds.

This variety of opium is peculiar to the Central India States and Rajputana, where it is called "patharphor" (tr. stone-breaker) because it is hard, having a consistence* of 95, and can only be broken by being hit with or struck on a stone. It used to be popular in China, to which country large quantities were exported.

The process of manufacture is lengthy. Crude opium is mixed

* Consistence = percentage of dry matter on total weight.

with either poppy or linseed oil and the consistence is raised until it is high enough to permit of its being formed into balls about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. These are placed in very finely ground trash (dried crumbled poppy leaves) or "pali," as it is called, in layers, and the room is made airtight. After some time these balls are taken out, cleaned, cut open and the opium re-mixed. They are then put back into the "pali" and this process goes on until they mature—a process which takes about five years.

In some of the Rajputana and Central India States *biscuit* and *tikia* opium are manufactured by the same process, but biscuit is moulded while tikia is not.

Here also crude opium is mixed thoroughly into a paste with linseed oil and small quantities are placed between layers of "pali." These are turned and buried and later re-buried standing on edge. After the biscuits are firm enough to be handled, they are placed in cotton bags between layers of "pali" and subjected to pressure, the position of the bags being changed periodically. In about two years these biscuits are ready for the market.

Some Indian States, for instance Baroda and the Central India Agency States, manufacture their own opium.

ADULTERATION OF OPIUM

United Provinces cultivators usually produce reliable and pure opium, but sometimes adulteration is attempted with sugar, starch and fine earth or water. Malwa opium, on the other hand, is frequently contaminated with varying proportions of poppy seed and sesame oils. Part of the oil arises from its use in facilitating the recovery of the sticky latex from the scraper used to remove the latex from the capsules, but oil is sometimes added deliberately in order to increase the weight of the opium submitted for purchase.

Opium which contains oil is not bought at the same price as the oil-free product. For the last sixteen years, the factory superintendent has evaluated the Malwa opium received from the cultivators on the basis of its oil content.

The decline in the consumption of excise opium in India, noticeable for some years (from 1,276 maunds in 1919 to 263 in 1935), may be attributed to the recent economic depression and the increase of duty on opium, both of which factors tend to restrict the use of opium by the very large number of consumers who take it in moderation for its euphoric qualities as a tonic or a restorative or to avert or lessen fatigue—uses which are regarded by many as being no more harmful than the similar use of tobacco and alcoholic drinks.

This attitude of the Indian public towards opium as a house-

hold remedy has much justification, for it should not be forgotten that, in India, much opium is consumed on account of its curative, alleviating and prophylactic properties, and it is thus a very common and treasured household remedy of the poorer classes, to the majority of whom qualified medical assistance is inaccessible.

SALES OF MEDICAL OPIUM AND ALKALOIDS

The sales of standard medical opium to the medical profession from the Indian Opium Factory have increased from 511 lbs. in 1922 to 1,800 lbs. in 1936. The sale of alkaloids is also important, 1,587 lbs. of crude morphine, 130 lbs. of morphine hydrochloride, 14 lbs. of morphine sulphate and 284 lbs. of codeine, as well as smaller quantities of other products, having been sold from the factory in the same financial year.

PREPARED OPIUM

There is a tendency to confuse "prepared opium" and "opium preparations." The former is produced from raw opium by such operations as solution, boiling, roasting and fermentation, by which it is converted into an extract suitable for smoking. "Prepared opium" includes "dross" and other residues which remain after opium has been smoked. "Dross" is the residue which is left in the pipe after opium has been smoked, and consists of ash and unburnt opium containing morphine. It is misused in several ways, particularly by eating it or by drinking it mixed with some beverage. It is also utilized to fortify "prepared opium" to strengthen the effect when smoking. The consumption of dross is considered more harmful than smoking prepared opium, because larger quantities of morphia enter the human system by eating than by smoking.

G. H. M. Batten, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, expressed his views on opium consumption before the Royal Society of Arts in March, 1892. His evidence that most of the opium is consumed in innocuous quantities and as a medicine was confirmed by the Royal Commission on Opium presided over by Lord Brassey in 1893 and reported on in 1895.

The physiological results of smoking opium are quite different from those observed when it is eaten, and it is significant that the opium most appreciated by opium smokers contains a relatively small percentage of morphine. In spite of the serious views held with regard to opium smoking, many authorities are of opinion that the habit is not more injurious than the use of other stimulants in moderation; in fact, in China, opium seems to be used for the same purpose as alcohol in other countries.

The Drug Addiction Enquiry Committee was set up in 1926-27, and has published a number of valuable reports. Interesting observations on the opium habit in India have been made, particularly with a view to studying the effect of climate and environment. The administration of opium to juveniles, especially the doping of children so that they may sleep while their parents are out at work, has also been reviewed. The morphine habit is of comparatively new incidence in India, but is said to be spreading.

At the same time, as stated by Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari at the 1936 session of the League of Nations, the internal consumption of Indian opium is strictly controlled. All stages, from cultivation to consumer, are under close Government supervision, and the annual consumption is falling. He stated that in the international traffic, Indian opium is not an important factor, as in recent years there had only been negligible seizures of Indian opium.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is published with the permission of the Government of India.

I desire to express my appreciation of the assistance of Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., PH.D., Barrister-at-Law, Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government, in checking the historical portion of this paper, and to Mr. J. A. St. J. Farnon, formerly Opium Agent, Government of India Opium Factory, Ghazipur, U.P.

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INDIAN ECONOMISTS IN CONFERENCE

BY EDWIN HAWARD

It was natural that, at the annual conference of Indian economists held recently at Hyderabad (Deccan), the delegates should have their attention specially drawn to the new responsibilities discharged by Indian Ministers under the régime of Provincial autonomy. In no field of research is India more vitally interested today than in economics. On this the supreme Government at Delhi, commercial opinion in the big Presidencies, and, now, ministerial activities reflecting the will of the people as expressed at the polls, appear to be generally working in accord.

The Government of India has taken unto itself a Chief Economic Adviser in the distinguished person of Dr. T. E. Gregory, who is now touring India in the first stages of his five years' engagement. Dr. Gregory has gone to India with a world-wide reputation; it may be doubted whether to any newly created post in that country has any man carried so many high credentials, such a wealth of experience and such an alert mentality.

In the annual report of Messrs. Premchand Roychand and Sons, Ltd., commercial views on India's economic needs are recorded in the following passage, which sets out to discover how India's prosperity can best be achieved under present conditions:

" . . . measures framed to raise the general standard of living, and therefore of consumption, remain as the only effective solution, a conclusion which does not blind us to the difficulty either of devising such measures or of carrying them into effect. Perhaps in no part of the Empire is the need for development along these lines more perceptive or even obtrusive than in India, owing to the tendency of population to increase more rapidly than production and therefore to impose increasing strains on rural resources. It follows also that in no Empire country do present economic conditions offer a more direct or formidable challenge to constructive statesmanship and the application of new energy and ideas to the solution of old problems."

Economic statesmanship could hardly have a more direct mandate from the mentors of commerce and finance.

In inaugurating the Conference at Hyderabad, Sir Akbar Hydari, on behalf of the Nizam's Government, was no less emphatic in his demand for economic progress. He referred to

the enquiry into the banking problems set up by the Nizam's Government. The investigators, he revealed, are being charged to review

"The economic burdens of our agriculturists and the possibilities of relief through consolidation of holdings, liquidation of debts, and increased security of tenure; combined, as must obviously be the case, with improvements in methods of agriculture and in the condition of the land."

Sir Akbar hopes that preparatory measures for increasing credit facilities, for providing cheap power and for devising additional railway works will duly emerge, the balance between private enterprise and State action being carefully preserved. A survey of hydro-electric resources is being made, and it is also expected that the plans already initiated for scientific marketing and the grading of produce will make valuable contribution to the financing of the farmer and peasant-proprietor. In justifying the claims which he made on behalf of his Government, Sir Akbar was inclined to the view that the new régime in British India might, in the long run, find inspiration in some of the achievements in Indian States. An Indian State, if beneficently disposed, has a greater elasticity in action and can thus more readily embark upon experiments than is always possible in British India, where the administration in its executive aspects has to proceed on certain well-defined lines and assumes therefore a rigidity which even the dynamic force of the new autonomy cannot wholly affect. Indeed, it may be useful for the Provinces to depend for experimental guidance on the operations in well-run Indian States. That consideration Sir Akbar did well to impress on his hearers. He thus indicated how valuably the two Indias, when brought together under the auspices of Federation, can assist each other. From the vigorous doctrines of the new Ministries the States may find a real stimulus to political and economic activity. From the alert coherence of the executive system in an Indian State empiricism may derive a strength and effectiveness which may relieve the Ministries of the necessity for undergoing that difficult treatment known as proceeding by trial and error. The argument cannot be pressed too far, for, whereas in British India there exists a wealth of data from which economic policy can evolve most of its plans for adapting modern needs to ancient processes, in Indian India the science of government still largely takes its tempo from the personal qualities of the ruler. If, as seems likely, many of these rulers are now disposed to press forward more resolutely than in the past with precise schemes for representative institutions in the true sense of the term, this disparity between the standards of achievement in the two Indias may be sensibly reduced.

Yet in Hyderabad, as Sir Akbar showed, material is available for guidance on the complex problem of the rehabilitation of provincial finance. Hyderabad considers that its system of making triennial allotments for each department on the basis of annual average expenditure facilitates well-devised schemes of long-range development and eliminates the waste which accrues from the lapsing of balances to departmental credit at the end of the twelve months under an annual budget. The idea was tentatively adopted in the Defence Department of the Government of India on a limited scale a few years back. Departments such as Railways have their own methods of arriving at the same result by slightly different means. Nevertheless the Hyderabad method is worth noting, if only because it has the device of disposing of the surplus at the end of the triennial period by sharing it between the department concerned and "the various nation-building departments of the State."

So, too, with a Statistics Department which has been running for nearly twenty years, Hyderabad can rightly direct attention to the importance of accurate statistics for formulating economic policy. The Conference, drawn as its delegates were from all parts of India, in the discussion of problems common to the whole country, could not help assisting to break down barriers to political communication. Its labours thus deserve special appreciation at this time.

The presidential address of Dr. P. J. Thomas, of the University of Madras, plunged at once into the vital issues of Indian economics by defining the problem as consisting in the prevalence of poverty and the consequent low standard of living. He made the bold assertion that there had not been any appreciable improvement in the standard of living of the masses for the last seventy years. He ascribed this to inefficient and inadequate production and inequitable distribution. Unfair tenancy conditions, unjust loan transactions and inequitable methods of marketing, had, he thought, brought about such conditions. He drew a picture which showed middlemen, who had obtained profits from agriculture and handicrafts, failing to invest their earnings in India's productive enterprises, but rather seeking to buy gold or lands or to indulge in usury at exorbitant rates. He admitted that "the influx of British capital into the railways, jute mills, and tea plantations of India since 1860 did something to relieve the persistent paucity of purchasing power in this country. But such investments have almost ceased since the war."

Dr. Thomas' solicitude seems to be more accurately directed than his choice of comparisons. Although he quite properly described India's standard of living as too low and argued that economic effort should be directed toward raising it, he appears

to have been far too sweeping in his contention that stagnation had marked the economic history of India over a period of seventy years. Lord Halifax, during his Viceroyalty as Lord Irwin, stated on unimpeachable authority:

"Within half a century India rose to that of fifth or sixth among the trading nations. Not less prodigious than the growth of communications was the spread of education, particularly of British education, and just as railways, telegraphs, and roads united the four quarters of India in the material sense, so the spread of Western knowledge was to give the political classes of India a common intellectual meeting-place."

In creating a single economic entity known as India, the achievements of the Government during the latter part of the period so disparaged by Dr. Thomas undoubtedly conferred real economic benefit from which the masses must have derived definite advantages—although, admittedly, the progress has not been as great as counsels of perfection rightly demand. Is it not something that famine today is no longer the dread spectre which haunted Indian administrations even so recently as the last decade of the nineteenth century? This does not imply a conviction that the situation should be complacently regarded, but it is doing no service to the new Ministries to pretend that they have to tackle these problems without any support from the actual administrative achievements of their predecessors.

There is no question but that in certain Provinces, notably in Madras, Bengal, Bihar, and the United Provinces, the land tenure systems lead to considerable unrest, the basis of which, of course, is economic disability. The new Ministries are already giving their attention to the matter. They have all the more ground for confidence because their departmental files as well as their provincial statute books contain valuable material for proper examination and treatment of the issues involved. Dr. Thomas finds that "the present economic system of India is overweighted on the agricultural side and this must be rectified." It is difficult to see how this can lead to economic salvation, considering that 90 per cent. of the population are dependent on agriculture. In advocating further industrial development Dr. Thomas sagely observes that it is dependent on agricultural improvement, which he suggests—again most sagely—should proceed by removing "mal-adjustments in rural economy arising from imperfections in land tenure, rural credit, and marketing." He does not appear to take into account recent progress, to say nothing of earlier stages of advance arising from such important events as the Famine Commission's Report of 1880, out of which, among other benefits,

came the classic work of Dr. J. A. Voelcker on "Improvement of Indian Agriculture." Later came the labours of Mollison in Bombay, Barber and Benson in Madras, Hayman in the United Provinces, and Milligan in the Punjab. Lord Linlithgow's own contribution to the subject is well known, but its more modern appeal should not be allowed to obscure the pioneer work of Lord Curzon, whose despatch of 1903 was a landmark in agricultural reform.

As for recent developments, let Lord Linlithgow's report speak, for it specifically drew attention to the admirable work performed in the first twenty-five years of the present century, although it elaborately and authoritatively drew up a programme for the future. It pointed out forcefully that the field was enormous and demanded concentrated effort from all concerned. Dr. Thomas has therefore firm support for his general thesis that the standard of living is too low, and it seems unfortunate that he should have felt impelled to enforce it by making an extravagant and unnecessary comparison.

The appointment of Dr. T. E. Gregory should result in the provision of information which may avert controversy of this kind in future. It is not by dwelling on past failures—imagined or real—that progress can be best assisted. A true economic survey of conditions in India is sadly required. It can be laboriously obtained in a varying degree of completeness from the excellent reports of various authorities in the Central or Provincial Governments, but as the Whitley Commission pointed out seven years ago there are certain definite *lacuna* in the documents available. For instance, machinery is required for a comprehensive wages enquiry. That is where experts such as those assembled at Hyderabad can make valuable contribution. To quote from the Whitley Report:

"Anxious as we are to see a great extension of economic enquiries bearing on the standard of living we must emphasize the difficulties in the way. The collection of statistical material from the workers on any extensive scale requires special qualifications. For an untrained investigator to descend on the workers' homes and collect such particulars as he can in a casual visit is valueless. The preliminary difficulties have been faced already by the Bombay Labour Office, and they have evolved a technique which can be studied with advantage by others who propose to embark on similar enquiries."

It is to be expected that Dr. Gregory's general advice to the Government will greatly stimulate the attention to economic

questions which have already prompted various Provinces to establish Economic Boards and other organs for the purpose of securing the foundations of a sound economic policy.

On the general question of the need for agrarian reform to which passing reference has already been made it will be agreed that Dr. Thomas has rendered a great service by specially stressing that point. The non-Congress Government in Bengal, no less than the Congress Governments in Madras, United Provinces, and Bihar, has taken early steps to put land reform in the front of its programme.

The Permanent Settlement has long acted as an economic stranglehold on the most populous Province in India. The former administration, like its predecessors, hesitated to interfere with what was regarded almost in the light of a treaty right. An administration which is based on the representative system of provincial autonomy has the duty to examine the question free from the trammels of an agreement of that kind. This can be done without abandoning fundamental principles of equity. Reform of the Settlement is urgently required, and the measure now proposed in Bengal is neither unjust nor confiscatory. It compares very favourably with efforts made in Europe to deal with similar difficulties which have found expression in Bengal in unrest. Indeed, the new régime is bound to give the problem its most careful consideration if only because the discontent arising from the abuses of the Settlement must strengthen the hands of revolutionary organizations. The Bill does not pretend to solve Bengal's land problem; indeed, a large-scale enquiry is about to be instituted with the view of fortifying the Government with appropriate information for a comprehensive measure of reform in due course.

Similarly in Bihar the Congress Government has managed to effect a rent reduction by agreement with the landlords pending more elaborate investigation of the grievances now exercising the minds of the peasants. It must at once be added that in the course of the last elections the successful Congress contestants promised reform on what might be called an extravagant scale. In that they whole-heartedly imitated electioneering politicians in quite respectable countries, and, in those Provinces where they now hold office, they have to face the fact that, once again, performance must fall short of promises made before the poll. They will not be dismayed, for to sobriety induced by responsibility the proof that enthusiasm has to be damped down is not always unwelcome or even inconvenient.

Finally, Dr. Thomas' observations on the part to be played by the Central Government in lightening the burdens on the rural population may be cited. He advocated a "bold increase of ex-

penditure" and a modification of the Government of India's "conservative" loan policy. He will have been encouraged by Sir James Grigg's Budget, with its unexpected contribution to the Provinces for rural development, although he may not be disposed to consider that the caution which the Finance Member showed in outlining the financial capacity of the Central Government was favourable to the evolution of a "much more energetic policy than hitherto." At the same time Sir James might well claim that Dr. Thomas did not really offer much guidance for attainment of that goal, in the definition given to the Conference:

"Not only our internal requirements, but external circumstances such as the tendency to economic self-sufficiency and the declining trend of population in the West call for such an active policy. At this juncture, therefore, India's interest lies in safeguarding her trade with a few steady markets and in developing our internal demand. We must have a co-ordinated economic system, wherein there must be a balance between industrial and agricultural production and a balance between different industries and crops."

There are blessed words here, but little else for the enlightenment of a Finance Member who is faced, as Sir James is, with a circumscribed revenue and a standardized expenditure, between which there is little margin for flights of fancy or superabundant feats of energy.

PALESTINE AGRICULTURE PAST AND PRESENT

By M. T. DAWE, O.B.E., F.L.S.

(Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, Palestine.)

In biblical days Palestine was described as a land flowing with milk and honey and was famed for the production of seven main crops, which were wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates. In the course of centuries wars, poverty, and neglect by rulers and inhabitants resulted in a considerable reduction of the area under cultivation and of the yields of crops and in general impoverishment of the soil. Forests and trees were felled and not replaced; soil erosion, caused by the heavy winter rains and other climatic factors, denuded the hill lands of soil and rendered many hills barren, exposing the rocks. Marshes were, moreover, formed in the internal plains, causing malaria. Sand dunes advanced year after year from the sea coast, burying good and cultivated land, and wherever crops were grown the yield became increasingly low, as no proper rotation or manuring had been followed to maintain the fertility of the soil.

In short, at the close of the World War, Palestine had not only long ceased to be a land flowing with milk and honey, but could hardly support the bare existence of a reduced population. The peasant cultivator was still farming on most primitive lines, using his half-starved bullock, camel, or donkey for drawing his wooden nail plough, his sickle for harvesting his crops, and the trampling hoofs of his animals, or the wooden sledge, for the threshing of his cereals.

Although orange and lemon growing had been started a century or so previously, the area was very limited and confined to the coastal plain. The citrus plantations were mainly owned by the wealthier Arab families and by the early Jewish settlers, who started their agricultural colonization work about two decades before the war.

The peasant knew little or nothing of orange or vegetable growing and contented himself with the raising of wheat and barley for his family and his animals' needs, and the surplus, if any, for sale to the towns. His standard of living was very low; there were no schools and no sanitation or medical attention in the villages. He was heavily indebted to the moneylender, who charged him an exorbitant rate of interest and gradually seized his land in payment of debts due.

As already mentioned, Jewish immigrants, mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, started agricultural colonization about two

decades before the war. These were helped by the Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.), the World Zionist Organization, and other colonizing bodies. While a few of the settlers continued to grow cereals and started to grow fodder crops for their cattle, most of them adopted fruit growing as their main occupation—principally citrus, wine grapes, almonds, and olives. A large winery, built on modern lines, with funds supplied by the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris, was built in Richon-le-Zion, and the vineyard owners organized themselves into a co-operative for the sale of the wine.

The main agricultural exports from Palestine before the war were oranges and lemons, wines, olive oil and soap, barley, and almonds.

The foregoing is a general outline of Palestinian agriculture as it was at the outbreak of the war. Conditions became worse during the war, as most of the farmers' animals, and a large proportion of their produce, were requisitioned by the Turkish army. Olive, fruit, and forest trees were felled indiscriminately for fuel, plantations were neglected, and fields were not sown, due to the shortage of seed grain.

Since the establishment of the present régime great changes have taken place in Palestine agriculture, and the development has been amazingly rapid.

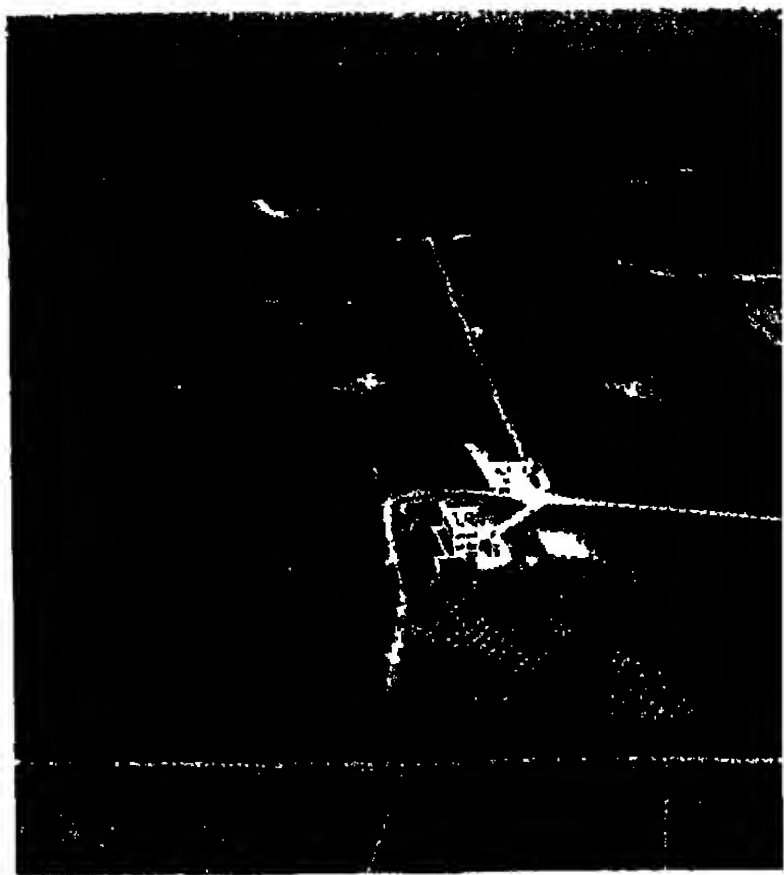
The keynote of the agricultural development in Palestine in the post-war period has been intensification. The main progress made has been in the development of citriculture, dairying, poultry and beekeeping, the production of vegetables and deciduous fruits and tobacco, and in the transition, wherever possible, from extensive to intensive agriculture, based on irrigation. These developments have been mainly due to the labour, enterprise, enthusiasm, and investment of capital by private individuals and colonizing institutions. Nevertheless, these developments, as well as other improvements in agriculture, which will be referred to hereafter, are necessarily bound up with the constructive agrarian policy of the Government of Palestine and several other contributory factors, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

(a) The growing local demand for dairy and poultry produce and vegetables due to the rapid increase of the urban population.

(b) The acquisition of wider and better knowledge in the practice of modern agriculture through Government activities and propaganda, agricultural schools, literature, and Government and Jewish research institutions.

(c) The abolition of *musha'* system or communal holding of land in the villages, thanks to the land settlement and partition of holdings carried out by Government.

(d) The rise in land values due to Jewish immigration.



AN AERIAL VIEW OF CITRUS GROVES IN PALESTINE

FIGURE 1. Aerial View of Present

FIGURE 1. Aerial View of Present



VINATH ISRAEL AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL A PRISIAN DAIRY HERD

Palestine Agricultural Photo and Print

Copy sent to Bureau

(e) The finding of new, and the better exploitation and utilization of water resources for irrigation purposes.

(f) The abolition of the Government tithe on agricultural crops and the substitution thereof of the rural property tax.

(g) The construction of roads, railways, harbours, and the general improvement of transport facilities.

(h) Fiscal Government measures to maintain prices and encourage local production, through protective tariffs.

(i) The introduction of new crops and of improved varieties of cereals, legumes, vegetables, as well as improved breeds of dairy animals, poultry, and bees.

(j) The raising of the standard of living of the peasant through education, Government village schools, better sanitation and housing.

(k) The impetus in the use of fertilizers and the adoption of a rational rotation of crops by the local farmers through Government co-operative demonstration plots in the villages.

(l) The mechanization of farming, through the use of tractors, harvesters, threshing machines, and combines.

In the actual development that has taken place in the post-war period citrus cultivation ranks first. Before the war the area under citrus fruit cultivation was about 7,500 acres, and today it is in the neighbourhood of 75,000 acres. The export of citrus fruit was about 1½ million cases in the year before the war; the export last year reached nearly 11 million cases, which included about 1½ million cases of grapefruit, the cultivation of which was almost unknown before the war. This rapid development in citriculture has taken place mainly on the light sandy soils of the coastal area, where underground water is abundant, and irrigation is obtained from wells or bores. The accompanying air photograph (a) shows the development which has taken place in orange growing on the coastal plain. As it costs on the average about £P.300 as investment and maintenance, in planting, irrigation system and cultivation, to bring one acre of citrus into bearing, the total capital investment in citrus groves, not including the cost of the land, will be in the neighbourhood of 22½ million pounds.

A large proportion of the export of citrus fruit is through co-operative societies, and efforts are being made to extend the co-operative movement and co-ordinate shipments. A Fruit Inspection Service has been established by the Government to control shipments—to examine and eliminate all unsound or blemished fruit from shipments, and also to ensure all packing being done in accordance with approved standards. An Advertisement Ordinance was enacted to levy a tax from exporters to establish a fund which is being used for advertising campaigns in the United Kingdom, foreign and local markets. The object is to stimulate sales and

assist in the marketing of the yearly increasing crop of citrus. Government grants have also been made to the Agricultural Research Station of the Jewish Agency for citrus research, the results of the investigations being made available to the industry.

A Government Citrus Demonstration Station has been established at Sarafand to study various stocks and citrus strains and varieties and to investigate certain problems connected with the industry.

Good progress has been made year after year in the construction of roads, particularly in the citrus belt, to facilitate the transport of the fruit to the railway stations and ports. Railway transport facilities have also been much improved, and storage sheds for the fruit have been erected in a number of stations. Finally, the improvements in the Jaffa port and the construction of an up-to-date harbour at Haifa have been of considerable assistance to the citrus export trade.

Dairying ranks next in importance. Before the war very few milch cows were kept and no dairy industry as such existed. The native cows kept in the village were ill-housed and ill-fed, and the annual yield per cow did not exceed 700 litres. Today there are over 10,000 dairy cows, mostly the crosses of imported Friesian bulls and local cows, particularly of the Damascus breed, almost entirely in the Jewish settlements, with an average annual milk yield of 3,500 litres a cow. The accompanying photograph (c) is of a herd of Friesian cows taken on the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School Farm. In a number of cases record yields of 8,000 litres a year have been attained. These cows are kept in well-constructed byres and are fed with balanced rations composed of grain, green fodder, hay, and concentrates. Most of the milk is sold co-operatively in the towns through modern well-equipped dairies. The Tnuva Central Co-operative Marketing Organization alone, which is the principal organization of its kind, increased its milk sales from a few hundred thousand litres in 1920 to over twenty-five million litres in 1936. While a considerable part of the milk is disposed of as fresh liquid milk, a good proportion is converted into butter, cheese, cream, and sour milk or "leben." The fresh milk is generally sold at satisfactory prices, but great difficulties are experienced in the sale of butter, due to the competition of the imported product from countries rich in pasture. A special committee was set up to study the problems of the dairy industry and to submit proposals for its further improvement, including, if necessary, its protection from foreign competition.

The sheep and goat population of the country is in the neighbourhood of 600,000, and these subsist mainly on natural pastures and stubble. A considerable part of the milk of these animals is converted into a salted cheese and native butter (boiled) or

"samna," which is consumed by villagers and by the native urban population.

Vegetable growing has made marked progress in recent years. The increasing population, particularly in urban areas, constitute an assured and expanding market for all kinds of vegetables. Due to the increased facilities for irrigation and the introduction of numerous kinds of improved varieties of vegetables by Government and private bodies, Palestine, with its suitable climate and soils, is rapidly becoming self-supporting in vegetables, except for potatoes and out-of-season vegetables, that have still to be imported. Fifteen years ago it was difficult to obtain sufficient and regular supplies of vegetables other than cucumbers and tomatoes. Now there is a steady supply of all kinds and of good quality—cabbages, cauliflower, lettuce, beets, radishes, marrows, garden eggs (aubergines), peas, beans, artichokes, and peppers. Among more recent introductions are asparagus, rhubarb, celery, and mushrooms grown from English spawn.

Prior to 1930, it was generally believed that potatoes could not be grown successfully in Palestine, and the production was negligible. Since then, as a result of experiments on the times of sowing, methods of cultivation, manuring and variety tests, it has been proved conclusively that potatoes can be grown profitably, and the annual production at present is in the neighbourhood of 10,000 tons. In addition to the experiments carried out, and propaganda by means of demonstration plots and pamphlets, the Government imported, in recent years, several hundred tons of seed potatoes from the United Kingdom for sale to growers at cost price. In order to stimulate further and protect local potato growing, the Government has increased the customs duty, from £P.1 to £P.3 per ton, during the season when the local crop is on the market.

Tomato cultivation has similarly been encouraged by the introduction of suitable varieties and the doubling of the customs duty, which was £P.2 per ton. Production has increased from 7,000 tons in 1931 to 35,000 tons in 1937.

In recent years the Department of Agriculture has devoted considerable areas at its experiment stations to the raising and distribution, free of charge, of millions of seedlings of improved varieties of vegetables, which are gradually replacing the poorer types all over the country.

In addition to the coastal area, where the bulk of vegetables are grown, the Jordan Valley, in localities where water is available, is particularly suitable for "early" and "out-of-season" varieties. In the hill districts, however, vegetable growing is dependent mainly on the winter rains. A start has been made in the export of "early" vegetables to the neighbouring countries and to

Europe, and successful trial shipments of "new" potatoes and tomatoes have been made to the United Kingdom in the winter months.

Most of the vegetables from the Jewish settlements, where modern methods of irrigation, cultivation, and manuring are practised, are marketed co-operatively through a central marketing organization, the "Tnuva." The vegetables are carefully graded and packed and distributed to various markets and towns, having regard to supplies already on the market and the prices ruling from day to day. In this way higher prices are obtained.

Modern vegetable canning has been introduced to deal with the surplus production; tomato fruit, juice and ketchup, cucumbers, peas, cauliflower, cabbages, mushrooms (imported and local), and mixed pickles are now successfully canned and marketed.

Considerable progress has been made in fruit and forest trees and ornamental plants, a number of nurseries for which has been established all over the country. Another source of income, in a number of farms, is cut flowers, for which there is a ready sale and market in the towns.

The cultivation of tobacco, which was very limited before 1918, due to the Tobacco Regie Monopoly, has made considerable progress. The monopoly was abolished in 1921, and within a year production increased from 265 tons to 694 tons in 1922, and reached the record figure of 1,845 tons in 1924. Exports of tobacco leaf are negligible, but a small quantity of leaf, representing about 10 to 15 per cent. of local production, is imported annually for blending. Thus practically the whole of the crop is used in the local manufacture of cigarettes. The varieties grown are mostly Turkish, and cultivation is confined largely to the hills in the north. Locally produced tobacco pays excise fees, and is protected by adequate import duties. The keenness displayed in the production of a crop largely in excess of local requirements, and for the greater part of a quality unfit for the export market, the resulting large unsaleable surplus, and failure to obtain imperial preferential customs duties on the British markets, have led to a reduction in annual production to about 1,000 tons, which is at present absorbed by the local factories.

Together with dairying and vegetable growing, poultry keeping has kept the same pace of progress in the development of mixed farming. About fifteen years ago modern poultry keeping was unknown in the country, and local fowls were kept as "back-yard" poultry in the most primitive fashion. The new Jewish settlers have started to pay increasing attention to this branch owing to the considerable local demand for eggs and poultry. Pedigree fowls of several breeds have been imported, principally by the Department of Agriculture, from Europe, acclimatized, and bred

locally in large quantities, and the industry today can compare favourably with that of the highly specialized European and American countries. The development of this industry can be gauged from the capacity of incubators in use by poultry farmers, which amounts to 630,000 eggs. The average annual egg-laying capacity on poultry farms is 120 per hen (as compared with only 40 to 50 eggs on primitive farms). The poultry population, according to the enumeration made last year, amounts to two and a half million birds approximately, of which about half a million are raised in modern poultry farms and the remainder in villages. It follows that village poultry, though raised in more or less primitive conditions, play an important rôle in the local industry, and every effort is being made to improve the conditions by instruction and demonstration, and the native breed by selection, and crossing with improved cocks of the heavy imported breeds which are distributed in villages in large numbers annually. Though modern poultry farming is practised mainly in settlements, several modern Arab poultry farms have been established recently, and the development of modern poultry in villages is progressing.

Although about 100 million eggs are still being imported annually to meet the local demand, local production is in the neighbourhood of 108 million. Large numbers of live poultry for the table continue to be imported, but with protective duties on poultry and eggs, it is hoped that the country will gradually become self-supporting in poultry and egg production. In addition to the main Government poultry farm at Acre, ten poultry stations have been established in the districts, wherefrom large numbers of hatching eggs and day-old chicks are distributed at low prices. Poultry diseases are constantly being investigated, and two poultry disease officers have been appointed to advise farmers and to carry out laboratory investigations.

Beekeeping, which had only existed on primitive lines with earthen native hives, has also progressed considerably in recent years. Five years ago there were practically no Arab modern beekeepers in the country, and to encourage beekeeping the Department of Agriculture commenced to issue movable frame hives and equipment on the hire-purchase system. This measure, coupled with instruction given by departmental bee inspectors, the sale of bee swarms at reasonable prices, the control of hornets, the distribution of duty-free sugar for bee-feeding, and short courses of instruction for beginners, stimulated beekeeping to a great extent. There are now in the country about 25,000 populated modern beehives, and last season's honey crop is estimated at 275 tons. The honey produced is of excellent quality, local production is increasing, and a considerable part of the yield is available for export to the United Kingdom and Europe.

Together with the marked development in intensive farming, considerable improvement has been made in cereal and field crops grown under dry farming. Imported and local varieties of cereals and legumes have been bred and tested out at Government stations. After improvement through selection, the most suitable varieties and strains have been graded and issued in large quantities to farmers, to replace the uncertain and inferior seed previously sown, with the result that much heavier yields of cereals are being obtained. This development is largely due to the introduction of a rational system of rotation and the use of fertilizers which have been demonstrated in the villages through co-operative field experiments.

The increasing use of tractors, harvesters, and combines has been a contributory factor in the development of arable farming and the adoption of the approved "dry farming" methods—viz., deep ploughing of the land before the rains and frequent summer cultivation for the preservation of moisture in the soil.

The Government policy to further agricultural development has aimed all along at increasing the quantity and improving the quality of crops and livestock and the intensification of farming. The adoption of improved irrigation and farming practices and the application of the results of research and experiment through demonstration have been amongst the activities of the Government as well as of the various colonizing bodies. Legislation has also been enacted, not only to protect tenants, but to protect the crops and livestock of farmers by safeguarding same from pests and diseases. Fiscal and protective measures, as already mentioned, have been introduced to deal with competition and secure to the grower reasonable prices for his crops.

Six agricultural and nine horticultural experiment stations have been established by the Government in various parts of the country for investigations at different altitudes and in various types of soils. The Government stations are open to visits by farmers. The results obtained from the stations are disseminated in the villages and settlements by itinerant officers and also through co-operative demonstration fields.

At the Government Stock Farm at Acre native breeds of cattle, sheep, and goats are improved by selection, and sires are distributed for service during the respective breeding seasons. Inferior village male stock are castrated in large numbers, and the progeny of Government sires is very promising. At this farm small herds of Guernseys and Kerries are also maintained, and the male progeny is used for crossing with cows in villages and settlements.

A very successful achievement in crossing the imported pure-bred Karakul ram with the local fat-tail "Awasi" ewe is to be recorded; the skins of the first and second generations have been

recently very favourably reported on by experts, and they compare favourably in quality with those of South-West Africa.

A staff of qualified veterinary surgeons is employed to control and suppress animal diseases, and fourteen frontier veterinary quarantine stations are maintained. Despite the large imports of livestock, the country is continually kept free from serious epidemics, and the control of bovine contagious abortion, which was introduced over twelve years ago with imported dairy cattle and spread rapidly throughout the dairy herds, is well in hand. The Government Veterinary Laboratory is conducting most useful work in the control of the afore-mentioned disease and dourine. At this institution various diseases are being studied and vaccine and anti-sera prepared and sold at reasonable prices.

Imported plants are inspected to prevent the introduction of injurious pests and diseases. The life-histories of injurious insects are studied to evolve the most efficacious methods of control.

Two agricultural schools were established, one for Arabs in 1931 and one for Jews in 1934, from the bequest of the late Sir Ellis Kadoorie.

School gardens have been established in 192 Arab villages and in 100 Jewish schools to give a rural bias to education. Weekly talks to farmers on agricultural subjects are broadcast over the radio, and an Agricultural Supplement to the *Palestine Gazette*, in the form of a simple worded pamphlet, is issued monthly and distributed free to farmers and others interested.

A great hindrance to development had been the land tenure system in the villages which was in common—that is to say, the site of the area cultivated by each farmer as his share in the village lands changed every year. This is being remedied through the Land Settlement Commissions which partition the land and provide security of title. Individual effort and improvement of private land holdings are thus encouraged. To ensure security of livelihood to agricultural tenants, which may be affected by changes of ownership, a "Protection of Cultivators Ordinance" is in force.

A Department of Development was created to initiate and supervise development measures generally and to supervise the resettlement of landless Arabs. Water supplies in Arab villages and Jewish settlements have been improved, and a sum of £P.90,000 has recently been made available for a hydrographic survey in Southern Palestine, the Jordan Valley, and Trans-Jordan. A number of marshes have been drained by Government and Jewish institutions and the land reclaimed made available for agriculture.

Irrigation and duty of water experiments are carried out and underground water resources have been surveyed and a water table compiled. The irrigation system at Jericho has been reconstructed

by Government. Experiments have been made to conserve winter flood water in dams.

The rural property tax, instituted in lieu of the old Turkish tithe and Werko (land tax), has helped the poorer farmers in providing for a graduated tax on various categories of land determined by productivity. The lowest categories of land are exempted altogether, and the tax on field crops land possessed by the poorer cultivators is low.

Government short- and long-term loans have been given from time to time to assist cultivators to purchase seed in bad years and to carry out reclamation and development works. Cultivators have also been assisted by the Government in the remission of taxes in years of drought and poor crops. In addition to the protective duties on crops mentioned earlier, a licensing system on the imports of wheat and flour has been instituted to avoid surplus on the markets and protect the local grower and miller. A system of graduated duty on wheat and flour to maintain prices and encourage local agriculture has been adopted.

A Registrar of Co-operative Societies was appointed in 1932 for the primary task of organizing co-operative societies among Arab farmers to improve methods of marketing.

Finally, a General Agricultural Council, comprising official and non-official representatives, with the Director of Agriculture and Fisheries as chairman, was instituted in 1931. The council, with its ten committees of experts, numbering some 150 in all, functions in the co-ordination of the work of various branches of the Department of Agriculture and other agricultural research and education institutions, and advises Government on agricultural legislation, on matters of citrus fruit, agricultural economics and marketing, horticulture, plant protection, agricultural chemistry research, irrigation, animal husbandry, agronomy, agricultural education, as well as fisheries.

From the survey I have just outlined it will be realized that, considering agricultural development is normally a slow process, much has been accomplished in a comparatively short period.

In conclusion, I desire to express my thanks to various officers of my Department for assistance in compiling this article, and in particular to Mr. M. Brown, M.B.E., Secretary of the General Agricultural Council, and Mr. S. Antebi, Agricultural Officer of the Southern District.

THE ACADEMIA SINICA

By DR. CHU CHIA-HUA

THE Academia Sinica (National Central Academy) is, as its Organic Law states, the highest institution for scientific research in China, supported by, and under the direct control of, the Chinese National Government. Its functions are twofold: first, to carry on original scientific research, and secondly, to act as an organ for promoting, directing and co-ordinating scientific progress in China. As at present constituted, it consists of three component parts: (1) the Administration headed by the President and a Secretary General; (2) ten Research Institutes, covering the subjects of Physics, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, Astronomy, Meteorology, Psychology, History and Philology, Social Sciences, and Zoology and Botany, and (3) the National Research Council. As provided for by the Organic Law, a national scientific library and other institutes of research may be established, whenever the finances allow.

The National Research Council is composed of (1) thirty leading scientists of the country formally appointed by the National Government, and (2) the President and the Directors of the Research Institutes of the Academy serving as *ex-officio* members. The Council plays the part of a central co-ordinating organ to link together the Academy and the rest of the scientific world and to decide the policy or programme of research to be undertaken by the Academy.

HISTORY

The Academia Sinica owes its origin to the far-sightedness of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who in his broad visions for the reconstruction of a modern China, included among his political reform programmes a provision for the advancement of indigenous scientific research. When he left Canton for the Northern Capital in the winter of 1924, he advocated, along with his policy for calling a national convention to settle political problems, the foundation of a central research academy as the highest scientific organization of the country, with a view to effecting the national reconstruction through scientific studies. He appointed Messrs. Wang Shao-min, Yang Chien and Huang Ch'ang-ku to draft the plan and regulations of this organization, which, however, did not materialize at the moment because of the untimely passing away of Dr. Sun.

When the present National Government was formed in Nanking, the idea suggested by Dr. Sun was soon carried into effect. Through the efforts of Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei the scheme for founding the present Academy was carried through, and a committee of three, consisting of Dr. Tsai and Messrs. Li Yu-yen and Chang Ren-chi, was formally appointed by the Government in May, 1927, for the establishment of the National Central Academy.

In October of the same year, when the Ministry of Education and Research was inaugurated with Dr. Tsai at its head, a Draft Committee of over thirty members was appointed to study the details of the contemplated organization. In November, the Committee met and drew up a constitution for the Academy. Minister Tsai was made its ex-officio President, and Vice-Minister Yang Chien was appointed concurrently as the Chief Secretary. Four institutes were then planned for—namely, the Research Institutes of Physical Sciences and Technology, Social Sciences, and Geology and a Meteorological Observatory. Committees were set up for drafting the constitutions and rules of these organizations.

In April, 1928, with the separation of the Ministry of Education and Research into the Ministry of Education and the Academia Sinica or the National Central Academy, the latter became an independent organ directly under the National Government. The constitution of the Academy was amended and promulgated in the same month as the present Organic Law of the Academia Sinica. Dr. Tsai was appointed President of the Academy and, in November, the office of the Chief Secretary was changed into that of the Secretary-General, with Mr. Yang, the former Chief Secretary, reappointed to the post.

A general reorganization and expansion of the Academy also took place. The Meteorological Observatory was separated into the present Institute of Astronomy and the Institute of Meteorology, both located at Nanking. The Institute of Physical Sciences and Technology was separated into three independent institutes—viz., the Institute of Physics, the Institute of Chemistry, and the Institute of Engineering. The Institute of Geology remained, while a new Institute of History and Philology was established. With the formal opening of the First Executive Conference of the Academy on June 9, 1928, the Academia Sinica may be said to have begun its active research activities. The Institute of Psychology was added in May, 1929, while the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History was inaugurated in January, 1930. In July, 1934, the Museum was reorganized as the Institute of Zoology and Botany, thus making ten institutes in all. By arrangement with the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, their Institute of Social Survey in Peiping was incorporated into the Institute of Social Sciences with its

headquarters in Peiping. At the same time a National Textile Laboratory was jointly organized by the Academy and the Cotton Industry Commission of the National Economic Council to conduct scientific research with the object of carrying out systematically the study of various technical problems confronting the cotton industry of the country. The bye-laws governing the National Research Council of the Academy were promulgated by the National Government in May, 1935. The first plenary meeting of the Council took place in September of the same year and the second one in April, 1936. Important resolutions were passed for the furtherance of scientific co-operation and for the solution, by concerted measures, of those urgent problems with which China is confronted during the present national crisis.

ORGANIZATION

The present administration of the Academia Sinica consists of the President of the Academy, the Secretary-General and two Departments: the Secretariat, and the Treasury. The President is entrusted with the duty of directing the policies of the whole Academy, while the Secretary-General takes charge of all the administrative matters of the Academy under the direction of the President.

The Institutes are independent units for carrying on research work, each under the supervision of a Director.

The personnel of the Institutes are classified as follows:

The Director, who is responsible for the direction of the administration and research work of the whole Institute.

Chiefs of Sections, who are responsible for the research activities of their respective Sections. Chiefs of Sections are concurrently Research Fellows, and carry on research work themselves.

Research Fellows, either full-time or part-time, are regular members of the research staff whose duty it is to direct work done by assistants, research students, and clerks.

Assistant Research Fellows, either full-time or part-time, undertake research work themselves but are of inferior rank to that of the Research Fellows.

Honorary Fellows.—Chinese scientists who have achieved notable scientific contributions may, upon the recommendation of at least one-third of the members of the National Research Council, and upon the unanimous approval of the Council members, be elected Honorary Fellows of the Academy. Foreign scientists who have achieved important scientific contributions may, upon the recommendation of at least one-third of the members of the National Research Council and the approval by over two-thirds of the Council members, be elected Honorary Fellows of the Academy.

Assistants and Research Students do their research work under the guidance of Research Fellows of the Institute to whom they are attached.

Besides those already named, there are librarians, fieldworkers, clerks, technicians, and others who are employed as the needs of the different Institutes require.

The National Research Council.—The National Research Council, as mentioned above, is composed of thirty scientific experts of the country, appointed by the National Government. The President of the Academia Sinica is ex-officio President of the Council, and heads of the research units of the Academy are ex-officio members. A secretary is selected from among the members by the members themselves and is in charge of the administrative work of the Council. He is also entrusted with the task of preparing the agenda for the coming conference, handling, in the name of the President, the correspondence of the Council and of editing the Council's reports, etc.

BUILDINGS

Owing to the lack of an adequate initial foundation fund, it was impossible for the Academy to plan for the buildings and equipments of the different Institutes in an ideal systematic manner that one would wish. Thus the Institutes were scattered in different places where it was most convenient for them to carry on their work. The Institutes of Physics, Chemistry, and Engineering were set up in Shanghai for the proximity of electricity and gas supplies. The Institute of History and Philology was located in Peiping for the convenience of conducting researches on historical archives in the former Imperial Palace. The Institute of Psychology was also set up in Peiping for co-operation with the Peiping Union Medical College to carry on various tests.

At the annual Conference of the Academy in June, 1930, it was decided to group the Institutes as far as practicable at the National Capital in order to attain higher administrative efficiency and better co-ordination among the different units. In the absence of a special building fund the project has been made possible by the savings accumulated year by year through economy, and at present it may be said to have been near completion. It was considered desirable to have the Institutes of Physics, Chemistry, and Engineering located in an industrial centre as Shanghai, and the China Foundation for Promotion of Culture and Education has donated a sum of \$600,000.00 for their buildings. They were completed by the end of 1933. The other Institutes are all centred in Nanking. The Institute of Meteorology and that of Zoology and Botany have been located in Nanking since their inception. The Head Office of the Academy and the Institute

of Social Sciences were completed by the end of 1931. A new building is being erected for housing these two institutions and will be completed in spring, 1937. The Institutes of Geology and Astronomy were completed in the summer of 1934. The latter is on the top of the Third Peak of the Purple Mountain and is one of the outstanding sights in the suburb of Nanking. In September, 1934, another building was completed at the foot of Pei-chi-ko to house the Institute of History and Philology. The Institute of Psychology was moved from Shanghai to the capital in 1935. Thus the building programme of the Academy has almost reached the stage of completion.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

At the time of the foundation of the Academia Sinica, a complete plan was drawn up which envisaged the work and gradual progress of the different Institutes for the first six years. So far the plan has on the whole been closely followed. According to this plan the energy and resources of the Institutes should in the early years be principally spent on the providing of scientific equipment, books, and collection and classification of data.

The following may serve as a brief summary of the kinds of research activities which have been going on in the past years:

Observation.—The Institute of Meteorology is well provided with the instruments for making hourly and daily records of the meteorological conditions of Nanking, including barometric pressure, wind direction and force, and solar radiation. It is working in co-operation with about one hundred and ninety stations in China, Japan, Korea, Siberia, Formosa, Indo-China, the Philippine Islands and the South Sea Islands, which send out meteorological telegrams and wireless weather reports. It is planning to establish many branches in China for a systematic study of the weather conditions, for which purpose students are being trained at the Institute. Daily weather forecasts are sent out, which are of valuable help to the aviation and navigation services. A special study of upper air conditions above Nanking has also been made by the sending of balloons with self-recording instruments. The Institute of Astronomy is equipped with a first-class telescope and other instruments for astronomical observations, which made possible the carrying on of important observation work, besides work on almanacs and other astronomical studies.

Laboratory Work.—The choice of subjects of study of the Institutes of Physics, Chemistry and Engineering is made with a view to meet the special needs of the country, such as studies in the manufacture of chinaware, paper, paint, pigment, glass and Chinese medicines. The shop of the Institute of Physics has been making scientific instruments both for the use of the Institute and

for supplying the orders of outside organizations. The plan of expanding this shop and of increasing its products has just been carried out. The Institute of Engineering has done important work in its National Ceramic Laboratory, while an Iron and Steel Laboratory has also been put up. Experiments in the manufacture of glasses, which had been carried on by the Institute of Chemistry up to July 1, 1935, were taken over on that date by the Institute of Engineering. All such studies include improvement in the method of manufacture as well as the examination of raw materials available in this country. The study of the machinery, raw material and manufactured products of the cotton industry has been undertaken by the newly established National Textile Laboratory under the joint auspices of the Academia Sinica and the Cotton Industry Commission of the National Economic Council.

Geologic Surveys.—Many parties have been sent out to different interior parts of China to survey geological conditions and mine deposits. The results of these surveys are embodied in the memoirs of the Institute of Geology. Important theoretic, as well as practical, problems on earth formations and bearings on palaeontology have been studied.

Collection of Biological Specimens.—After the success of the Government Kwangsi Scientific Expedition in 1928, the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History was established. Two expeditions were sent out in July and November, 1929, to Szechuen, and another expedition to Kweichow in April, 1931. Each of these expeditions was properly staffed with a botanist and a zoologist as well as a few taxidermists and assistants. The Museum had in 1933 more than 20,000 samples of zoological specimens and about 32,000 samples of plants. The collection was greatly enriched by the expedition sent in 1932 to Yunnan which lasted nearly two years. A South Sea Expedition party was organized at the beginning of 1934 in co-operation with the China Science Society. In the summer of 1934, the Museum was reorganized as the Institute of Zoology and Botany. An expedition was sent out, in May, 1935, to study oceanography and marine biology along the sea-coast of the Gulf of Peichili and the Shantung Peninsula. In pursuance with a resolution adopted by the China Sub-committee on Oceanography of the Pacific Science Congress in April, 1935, a marine biological station at Tinghai, Che-kiang, has been newly created under the supervision of the Institute.

Studies in Physiological Basis of Sensation and Comparative Neuro-anatomy.—The Institute of Psychology has been conducting experiments on the electro-physiology of the different parts of the visual apparatus, the effects of labyrinthectomy on albino rats and the effects of temperature and conic concentration on the

cerebral sinus. Works on the microscopic structure of the cerebral cortex of the Chinese brain have been published. Besides, the Institute is carrying on studies in the comparative anatomy of the brains of the different orders of mammalia.

Social and Ethnological Surveys.—Social survey and research have been undertaken by the Institute of Social Sciences. The Section of Sociology has concentrated its energy on research on agrarian problems, and has, among other things, made investigations on the agrarian systems in Shansi, Wush and Paoting, etc. Attention has also been paid to the studies of agricultural and commercial economics, such as the food problem in relation to the population, and statistics of foreign commerce in China. The Section of Ethnology has made important first-hand studies and collected valuable ethnological data of the aborigines in Formosa, the Tungus in Manchuria, the Lolos in Szechuen and the aborigines in the Hainan Island. In July, 1934, this Section was transferred to the Institute of History and Philology. Recently it has just completed a survey in Yunnan.

Linguistic Survey and Research.—The Section of Linguistics of the Institute of History and Philology has made extensive phonetic studies of the Wu dialects, the dialects of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and the dialect of Amoy, besides others. Instrumental studies of Chinese tones are being carried on. Besides the recording of dialect data, the Section is also undertaking important research work in ancient Chinese phonology. Studies of ancient rhyme books, ancient scripts (especially the bone inscriptions) and the reconstruction of old sounds are undertaken by different research fellows. Original studies of the Tibetan language, and studies of the Si-shia literature are being conducted. The study of folk-lore constitutes one of the many phases of the Institute's activities.

Compilation of Historical Archives.—The Institute of History and Philology has undertaken the great work of studying the original Cabinet Archive manuscripts of the Manchu Dynasty, which form a veritable mine of information regarding the late Ming and Ching Dynasties. Along with the manual work of preserving, labelling and chronological classifying of the manuscripts and brushing away the accumulated dust of three centuries, the work of compilation of important reprints is going on under a special Compilation Committee.

Archaeological Excavations.—The Section of Archaeology of the Institute of History and Philology has done very notable work in excavations at Honan and Shantung. These expeditions may be said to be the first scientific excavation parties entirely organized and staffed by Chinese scientists. Important finds have been unearthed at both places, which, with the new methods of study,

have thrown important light on the early history of Chinese culture. A large quantity of bone inscriptions of three thousand five hundred years ago have been discovered and their contents methodically studied. The excavations at Chêng-tze-yai, in the neighbourhood of Tsinan, Shantung, have revealed an early Black Pottery culture which is so far the earliest known in ancient East China. The Section is now conducting for the fourteenth time the excavations of ancient tombs at An-yang, Honan.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

In consonance with the second object of the Academia Sinica, which is to promote, direct and co-ordinate scientific progress in China, the Academy has also served in many ways as a central scientific organ for organizing scientific conferences and scientific surveys, and for establishing contact between China and foreign countries concerning scientific matters. Among such activities may be mentioned the following: (a) The calling of the National Meteorological Conferences in April, 1930, and 1935, for establishing a national scheme of co-operation among the meteorological stations. (b) The compilation of a complete bibliography of scientific treatises written by Chinese scientists as well as those relating to China by foreign scientists. (c) The sending of delegates to participate in the various international conferences, such as the International Botanical Congress held at Cambridge University, England, in August, 1930; the Conference of the Commission for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, held at Geneva, in July, 1931; the Fifth Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress in Canada, 1933; and the International Astronomical Union Congress at Paris, in July, 1935. (d) The delivering of a series of lectures on scientific subjects through the Central Broadcasting Station at Nanking. (e) The giving of technical counsel on questions of pure and applied science and acting as a government agency for giving reports on scientific problems and projects submitted for examination. (f) The organizing of national research expeditions, such as the National Scientific Expedition to the Northwest, for the study of the geologic, archæological and ethnological conditions in Inner Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, and Thibet, a project which was scheduled to last four years and which may be considered the first extensive scientific undertaking of the National Government of China. (g) The establishment of a National Textile Laboratory in co-operation with the Cotton Industry Commission of the National Economic Council for studying and improving the raw materials, manufactured products, and factory management of the industry. (h) The co-operation with the Ministry of Education in establishing a National Central Museum in Nanking.

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FAR EAST

THE FAR EAST IN RECENT HISTORY. By G. F. HUDSON. (*Humphrey Milford.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

To all who wish to get the many complications of the Far East in true proportion, Mr. Hudson's terse, lucid and scholarly book is cordially to be recommended. His selection of the essential facts and the manner in which he shows the interplay of continually changing forces give the whole book an interest and distinction which will commend itself even to those already familiar with the history it traces. For others it supplies just the key that is needed to present perplexities.

The story begins about a century ago with the West forcing its way into the East (Japan as much as China) in search of trade; then in due course came the contest for territory and concessions: many people will remember when the partition of China was as much expected as the break-up of Turkey. Russia was always the chief villain and still is, with her recent absorption of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang: it is easy to understand Japan's historic dread of her. At the Washington Conference the Powers agreed to abjure the "gunboat policy" and be good. They were not a little surprised that Young China refused to be good also. As Mr. Hudson says, "It was not enough that the privileged Powers should cease to advance; Chinese nationalism demanded that they should retreat . . . it was now China's turn to attack."

The wonder is, not that China has had intermittent fits of violent anti-foreignism, but that she has not had more. On the other hand, as Mr. Hudson justly points out, the Powers, by indulgent toleration of her breaches of treaty after 1922, must share the responsibility for China's humiliation in Manchuria. When China, or as Mr. Hudson seems to prefer it, the Young Marshal, "tried to force Japan out of Manchuria" she presumed too far. Japan was passing through an excruciating economic depression, and the combination of events broke the last bonds on the military men's impatience with Baron Shidehara's famous conciliatory policy. Some extremely interesting pages show without rancour or prejudice the futility of expecting help from the League of Nations.

MAKASSAR SAILING. By G. E. P. COLLINS. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by R. T. BARRETT.)

Mr. G. E. P. Collins takes us pleasantly to the Island of Celebes. He is sure of readers, for few of those whose imaginations wander afield can have failed to wonder about the nature of this curiously shaped island and the ways of its people. Mr. Collins has the power of being able to write in

simple and matter-of-fact style of what he has seen, and illustrates his subject with the kind of photographs that are wanted. He spares his readers anthropology and ethnology, but he gives, in his accounts of the ceremonies he has seen and the tales he has been told, the raw materials of these sciences.

A good sense of proportion is kept, for while he paints no fanciful Arcadia, he suggests that despite dirt and epidemics it is no bad thing to be an untutored native of Bira, in the southern corner of Celebes.

The descriptions of native life, including weddings, funerals, marital customs and superstitions are all felicitous, and those who have known the East will quietly relish the record of the tricks played upon him by the builders of his *prahu*, in order to get a little more money out of him.

He harbours no illusions about these people, and one of the few rather bitter passages scathingly attacks untravelled politicians who declare that these lands are not better for white overlordship.

Mr. Collins has here unquestionably written an ideal book, with appropriate pictures, for a quiet evening by the fireside on an English winter evening. For that, both those of us who have been East of Singapore, and those who travel there in spirit only, will owe him a debt of gratitude.

JAPANESE EXPANSION ON THE ASIATIC CONTINENT. Vol. I. By Yoshi S. Kuno. (Cambridge University Press.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by R. T. BARRETT.)

This is a most interesting and revealing book. Everyone studying the Far East should read it, and then read it again, not only for the story that it relates of the past, but for the light it throws on the present conflict between China and Japan. Professor Kuno, who has been Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of California, describes his book as: "A study in the history of Japan, with special reference to her international relations with China, Korea and Russia," and he unfolds a chapter of history almost unknown to the West.

The value of the book is that it gives, with admirable restraint and fairness, the Japanese point of view. The triumphs, diplomatic and military, of his country are soberly described, the defeats are not glossed over; but there is never a doubt of the essential rightness of the course pursued by his country.

This volume, the first of three, which will bring the record down to modern times, starts with the legendary beginnings of Japan, and ends with the attempts of Hidyoshi, "the Japanese Napoleon," to conquer China, as a preliminary to bringing all the known world under his own rule.

It might seem that the reading of a record of such far-off days is a waste of time to the student anxious to understand the nature of the present conflict. But Professor Kuno reveals how the Japanese view their own heroic age, and the profound effect which these olden triumphs must have when presented to a people of simple mentality, through the medium of strongly nationalistic history.

The impression, for instance, of the scattering of the invading armadas of Kublai Khan, upon the Japanese mentality, was even deeper than that of the defeat of the Spanish Armada upon England.

Professor Kuno says: "Ever since the destruction of Kublai Khan's armada by the divine wind in the thirteenth century, it has been the national belief that Japan is a divinely protected nation and that she can never be conquered by a foreign power. So strongly are the people imbued with this faith that there is absolute national confidence in the ultimate success and justification of all her causes and claims in any dealings with foreign nations."

When an Englishman writes about Japan he finds himself in a strange land, with standards entirely foreign to himself and his readers. But to Professor Kuno, what he relates is the natural and correct standard. That is where the value of his book lies.

The position of the Emperor of Japan, the semi-divine ruler, who was shorn of power, and made almost a prisoner for centuries, is made clear. There has never been any suggestion of abolishing the throne, nor have usurpers sought it. The holder, by right of inheritance of the three Three Emblems—the sword, the mirror, and the jewel—delivered by the Sun Goddess to her child, the first emperor, is sacrosanct. In the struggle for unification the Emperor's champion held an advantage over rivals, and the Shoguns, as the Emperor's deputies, were able to command the allegiance of the common people.

In many ways the book is disappointing. The language is stilted, and the narrative turns back upon itself with needless repetitions. Much that one would like the author to tell us is omitted. A great part of the record deals with war, but no account is given of the Japanese army, of equipment, tactics, strategy and training. Even the revolutionary introduction of fire-arms is dismissed in a few lines. How much one would like an account, for instance, of the Samurai, their traditions and influence. His readers will, however, be grateful to Professor Kuno for what he has revealed of the spirit of his country, and the remaining volumes of this important work will be awaited with every interest.

A ROVING COMMISSION. By Henry Newman. (*G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Newman adopts a discursive style in writing of his experiences as War Correspondent in China, Tibet, and the North-West Frontier of India, and he recalls to memory many events of the Boxer Rising and the march to Lhasa with Sir Francis Younghusband.

His reminiscences of frontier fighting during and after the Great War are of interest, as they record numerous little-known incidents. In particular, he sheds a humorous light on the Peace Conference which took place at the conclusion of the 3rd Afghan War in 1919.

TOWARDS ANGKOR. By Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales. (*Harrop*.) 12s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by Dr. ARNOLD A. BAKÉ.)

It certainly was a happy idea of the author to make Angkor the climax of his recent book. The wonders of that mighty and wonderful complex of royal and sacred ruins have filled the world with admiration for some decades, and every effort to explain the evolution and growth of the culture that produced Angkor must be warmly welcomed. Here we have before us the results of two expeditions, which have a much wider range than that which the author chooses as his official climax. When reading the book I seemed to hear objections from rigidly scientific quarters to its form, half account of travel, half exposition of historical and archaeological facts. But the author's method certainly has produced a book that will appeal to a wide public, and will awaken response in every heart that possesses sympathetic strings, and as long as the scientific part of it bears all the marks of being the result of sound research and logical reasoning, the popular form seems to me rather an advantage than otherwise. The rise and development of one kingdom after another, appearing for a short period in history and then vanishing for ever; the culmination of that period in the centuries of domination of the Emperors of the Sailendra Dynasty; and the interplay of political interests dimly discernible in the account of Chinese contemporary records, sometimes suddenly corroborated by archaeological finds, deserve to be known in a much wider circle than that of scholars alone. For the understanding of the great Indian culture, the culture of Greater India, they are of immense importance.

One cannot but admire the logic and ingenuity with which the course of history is reconstructed from the find of three Hindu images twelve miles higher up the river than where they originally belonged, even if the assertion "if these images had not been carried twelve miles up the Takuapa river (on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula), Angkor, in Cambodia, would never have existed" (page 50), is perhaps a little too sensationally put. Still, the discovery of this overland route from Takuapa to the Bay of Bandon, with, as its sequel, the establishment of contact with the Far East out of reach of the all-powerful pirates of the Strait of Malacca, who had effectively stopped the intercourse between India and the Indonesian Archipelago; the consequence of renewed quickening influences of different waves of Indian settlers in the Far East; the second colonization of Java from the East of Malacca; and even the identification of Chaya at the Bay of Bandon with the capital of the mighty Sailendra kings—all these fit in so well with the historical facts that the numerous opponents of this new and rather revolutionary theory will have to bring forward very solid facts to undermine this structure.

The book impressed me as a sound contribution to our knowledge of a little-known but extremely important and interesting period in the history of Greater India, and the numerous good photographs and very clear maps, bibliography and index greatly enhance its value. A few more photographs of Indian types of architecture to elucidate comparisons would have been welcome, especially as the book addresses itself also to a general, more or

less lay, public; a photograph, for instance, of the Gupta tower of Bhitargaon next to its relative, the Indian tower at Cri Deva, certainly would not have been out of place, nor some typical examples of Pallava art.

Possibly the theory will have to be modified in details, but I would not be surprised if the basis of Dr. Quaritch Wales's theory, the importance of the overland route and its falling into disuse as soon as the Sailendras had freed the Strait of Malacca for traffic again, has very materially advanced our progress to a fuller understanding of the history of Greater India.

FAR EAST IN FERMENT. By Guenther Stein. (*Methuen.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Stein's book on the Far East as it is to-day is written with considerable skill and good knowledge of Japan, China, and also Russia. It has another advantage: all the main occurrences which will affect the future of the Far East are stated and reviewed in an impartial spirit. Peace and war are in the balance; they depend upon the relations between Japan and Russia, and he comes to the conclusion that neither of them are prepared to venture on a conflict. A victory of Russia would mean a Bolshevization of Asia, while a victory of Japan would bring about Japanese dominion to the detriment of Europe.

What plans Japan has no one can say; perhaps the Japanese rulers themselves do not know. Of Russia Mr. Stein holds the view that they have for the present shelved the idea of a world revolution. As regards her armed forces which can be brought out in the Far East, he is of opinion that they are equal to those of Japan, and that Russia's air fleet causes much anxiety to the Islanders. Mr. Stein's observations will be studied not only in England, but also in Russia and Japan.

BOOK OF SONGS. Translated from the Chinese by Arthur Waley. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Waley is one of the foremost scholars of Chinese and Japanese, whose books have in the past rightly earned and received a great welcome, not only on the part of the British reading public. The same reception is in store for his latest output: the *Book of Songs*. It appears that Mr. Waley has intentionally omitted from the title-page, the *Shi Ching*, in order not to frighten the reader or student of Chinese poetry. The *Shi Ching* has been translated several times into English, but the statement can hardly be contradicted that those editions have appeared like voices from the grave compared with the new rendering that has just been placed before us. It is to Mr. Waley's credit that he has transformed an old book into a new one which will appeal even to the most modern taste. Is it the translator's better insight, or is it his fine poetical rendering which shows the volume in a really human form? Short introductions and notes serve to stimulate the reader and enlighten him on the themes in a pleasurable form.

WE, THE TIKOPIA. A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia. By Raymond Firth. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 30s. net.

WE, the Tikopia, is the expression of self-consciousness used by a tribe who live on a small island of the Solomon group. A map of the island shows its topography, and another depicts the sociological features. Mr. Firth has resided a year amongst these primitive people in order to familiarize himself with their social organization. The fruit of his work is a large-size volume of over 600 pages, produced by the publishers in their usual handsome style and provided with 25 plates, with plans, whilst the author himself has prepared for the text a number of tables and even genealogies. This shows with what earnestness the author has approached his subject and carried through his work. All branches of human relationship have been searched from beginning to end with the result that we see before us the village community life, that of the family and their separate members.

LA CHINE HERMÉTIQUE : SUPERSTITIONS, CRIME ET MISÈRE. Souvenirs de Biologie Sociale. Par le Dr. J. J. Matignon. New edition. With 42 plates. (Paris : *Paul Geuthner.*) 75 fr.

The first edition of this remarkable work was issued forty years ago, followed by other editions. One of the chapters deals with the enormous number of suicides, of which the author describes the various reasons and also gives the modes of suicide. According to statistics, most of such deaths occur in a rage, half that number on account of poverty. We learn to our great surprise that the peaccable, lovable Chinese suffer frequently from ill-temper, and this from early childhood. The system of Eunuchs in the ancient Imperial Palace is dwelt upon, as well as the horrible practice of infanticide. Dr. Matignon's observations on these and other vices and on Chinese psychology bearing on these matters are strong, but improvements in recent times have done much to modify the picture.

CHINESE LYRICS. Translated by Ch'u Ta-Kao, with a preface by A. Quiller-Couch. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 4s. 6d. net.

The volume contains 54 poems belonging to the Sung dynasty. So far, not much is known of Sung poetry, perhaps chiefly because this period, which rather excelled in learning and philosophy, did not produce many poets, but also because the poems do not offer a special charm like those of the T'ang times. However, we have to be grateful for these examples. It is creditable that a Chinese should give these translations in such perfect English, and be able to produce in them that musical touch which appeals to our own ears.

JEHOL, CITY OF EMPERORS By Sven Hedin Illustrated (*Kegan Paul*) 18s.

Sven Hedin, one of the world's best-known explorers, is well known in England through his works in English on his previous expeditions and researches. No title could have been more appropriate on this occasion, as Jehol is in the mind of many readers. We should have liked to obtain more information regarding present conditions in this important Manchu city, as also a description allowing the reader to familiarize himself with the seat of the present great trouble in Manchuria. There are, indeed, some historical notices and chapters rendered from the Chinese, but the major part of the book deals with the temples of the city, which were built chiefly by Chienlung. The account is very conscientiously written and in an interesting style, but at the present time a more general and up-to-date statement of its political importance would have been more acceptable. At the same time it is useful to learn something of its past history, as that enables us to judge of the present in better perspective.

HANDBOOK OF JAPANESE ART By Noritake Tsuda With 345 text illustrations and 10 plates in colour (*Allen and Unwin*) 25s net

Mr Tsuda has attempted and succeeded in compiling a handbook of the whole range of Japanese art. Here we find in handy form information on architecture, painting, sculpture, metalwork, lacquer, textiles, prints, pottery, and on landscape gardening. The 524 pages of text, interspersed by numerous illustrations, do, of course, not pretend to treat the various subjects critically, but they give more than sufficient information to the educated reader wishing to understand and appreciate the beauty of Japanese art. It must give the Japanese intense satisfaction to know that art in their country is not confined to privileged classes, but that it is part of the general education. One of the first Westerners to appreciate Japanese art was Edmond de Goncourt and through him more than through anybody else this art became known and began to be appreciated in Europe. Mr Tsuda's book will contribute to a better knowledge of Far Eastern art in general amongst us.

The handsome volume is divided into two parts, of which the first is a historical survey, beginning with the archaic age, leading up according to periods to contemporary art. The second part forms a guide to temples and museums, which are dealt with according to the chief cities. The text illustrations are perhaps as good as they can be on the shiny clay-paper, but the colours on the plates do not give a proper idea of the high quality of the objects. At the end is to be found an excellent bibliography of English books on Japanese art, as well as a map showing the distribution of Japanese arts.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PACIFIC. By Gregory Bienstock. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 12s. 6d. net.

This work is the outcome of much shrewd observation and hard work. The author is of the opinion that the first World War has given rise to new situations which were certainly not taken into account at the time of the war. New aspirations, especially of Japan and Russia, have gained ground. According to the author, the interests of the Anglo-Saxon races in the Far East are so enormous that they do not favour a success of either of the two nations. All the possibilities in the preparation of a second World War, deciding for some time to come the fate of the countries bordering the Pacific, are studied and discussed. It should be stated that Mr. Bienstock has a most unusual insight into present-day politics, and that his views are worthy of the greatest attention. He has added notes of reference, some quite lengthy, and much bibliographical information. In the preface it is stated that the volume is a translation.

LAND UTILIZATION AND RURAL ECONOMY IN KOREA. By Hoon K. Lee. (*Oxford University Press.*) 17s. net.

Apart from a few works on politics, the present volume is probably the first scholarly, specialized treatise by a learned Korean in any European language, except a thesis of doctorate which was issued in German through Leipsic University. That this was made possible is probably due to Dr. Lee's American training. This treatise on Agricultural Economics is all the more welcome, as we already have similar books on China and Japan. The types of land use are admirably described, nor do other chapters leave anything to be desired. The author has spared no pains to enlighten us upon the whole land colonization, such as forests and mines, which contain much wealth, the farm products and their prices, and also farm labour conditions.

WANG AN-SHIH, A CHINESE STATESMAN AND EDUCATIONALIST OF THE SUNG DYNASTY. By H. R. Williamson. Two vols. (*Probsthain.*) £3.

Various studies on Wang An-shih have appeared in recent years in various languages, but the first comprehensive work on this most eminent statesman has only just been issued by an English Sinologist, Dr. Williamson. The Chinese Government itself has expressed its admiration for this great reformer by making his political and economic doctrines a part of the curriculum for officials. The first volume of this extensive work contains chiefly the life of the eminent reformer who became, at least in doctrine, the father of state socialism. The chief measures which he introduced were nationalization of trade in the country, with authority of government agents to buy food in the cheapest market and dispose of it at fixed prices. The Agricultural Loans Measure provided rural credits. The Militia Enrolment Act provided for military training of the people. The second volume contains a number of Wang's Essays, which display his unorthodox opinions on methods of government and his views on education.

The politician, nay, the thinking public, as well as the scholar, must thank Dr. Williamson for the difficult task which he has undertaken and so ably completed. The present volume forms vols. 21 and 22 of Probsthain's well-known Oriental Series.

LA CHINE. Par Maurice Percheron. With 148 photographic illustrations and 4 fine coloured plates. (Paris: *Fernand Nathan*.) 20 fr.

In opening the pages of this book one is agreeably impressed by the numerous exquisite illustrations, and even more so by the coloured plates, which are most attractive. The text illustrations are collected from a number of sources, and they give the volume a distinct charm, displaying objects of Chinese civilization. From the letterpress the reader will derive no less pleasure: Monsieur Percheron has a fluent, lively style, and in these all too brief pages gives an account of various episodes in Chinese history, life and culture. Great emperors, poets, Buddhist travellers appear before our eyes as human beings, not as dry history. Marco Polo and Kublai Khan speak to us, and especially the tragic Empress-Dowager Tzu-hsi tells us of her worries, and finally passes out of sight. Anyone wishing to get an idea of the long history of China in a few chapters and possessing some knowledge of French cannot do better than acquire this volume.

GENERAL

THE GROWTH OF LITERATURE. By H. Munro and N. Kershaw Chadwick. Vol. II. (*Cambridge University Press*.) 30s. net.

The authors have set themselves an enormous task, and in studying this big volume of eight hundred pages one is convinced that the work undertaken must be the result, happily concluded, of a life-time of study. It is true that the final volume is only in preparation, but, of course, it must have taken formal shape. The work on which the authors have been engaged is a kind of unwritten—i.e., oral—literature, and in the volume before us there are treated the Russian, Yugoslav, including Muhammadan, Early Indian, and Early Hebrew literature. This oral literature is the basis of all further development. What is very creditable is that the authors have mostly given their own translations, and only for the Hebrew section have they used the revised version of the Old Testament. Each of the four parts is heralded by an able introduction, and each of these again is divided into chapters of almost equal length. The subjects are such as we find them in the literature—i.e., heroic, historical, saga, descriptive, religious poetry and stories. Most readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will be more or less familiar with Indian literature, and yet it is fairly certain that the treatment from the point of view of oral tradition, its rise and growth, will arouse their deep interest as supplements to their knowledge of written literature, and they will pay tribute to this exceptional work.

MAKING OF THE STATE. By M. Ruthnaswamy. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 21s. net.

The title-page informs us that the author is a barrister, and has also held distinguished positions in various legislative councils. This cannot be wondered at. The volume discloses an unusual amount of substantial learning, and the compilation can be well compared with the best books that have been produced in this country. The author knows, of course, the Sanskrit bases necessary for a work of this description, but he is equally a master in English, French, and German. Even the difficult foreign words are correctly spelt. There is just one slight mistake on page 190, the work on *Ethnography of Castes and Tribes* is by Bains and not by Baine's, but this slight error shows the great care Mr. Ruthnaswamy has taken. However, the name is properly spelt in the index. Apart from these general observations, we can further compliment him upon the way in which he has compiled this book. It is an exceedingly interesting work, not merely for people in India, to whom it is specially addressed, but also for people in Europe. Mr. Ruthnaswamy has made a fascinating book out of a subject which is generally dry to the ordinary reader. Every page teems with interest, sound information, and attractiveness. The author is of opinion that India is now well on the road to the making of her own state.

POTEMKIN. By George Soloveyitchik. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 18s.

This biography is in the nature of a rehabilitation of an historical figure which has been persistently caricatured.

Potemkin's rise to power was meteoric. Associated with the five brothers Orlov in the *coup d'état* which brought Catherine to the throne, he was shortly afterwards introduced to the new Queen at an intimate soirée, and, on being questioned by her regarding his impersonations, greatly daring, answered her in her own voice. The *coup* succeeded and launched him on his great career.

In an early chapter, entitled "The Russian Scene," the author holds up to the reader a mirror of the times with its eccentricities and extravagances, and helps him to see Potemkin's more notorious deeds in their true perspective, but, commencing where some of his other biographers ended, he recounts the many services rendered by him to his Sovereign and to Russia.

THE TRAVELS OF PETER MUNDY IN EUROPE AND ASIA, 1608-1667. Edited by Sir Richard Temple and Miss Anstey. Vol. V. Hakluyt Society (*Bernard Quaritch*).

The fascinating account of Peter Mundy has reached its close with the present volume. Undoubtedly Mundy was one of the greatest travellers of his period. He started life as a cabin boy, sailing for Spain, where he became apprenticed to an English merchant. At the age of twenty he went on his first voyage overseas to Constantinople in the service of the Levant

Company. Finally, his journeys took him to various countries of Europe, to India, where he saw the Emperor Shah Jehan; to Southern India, the Dutch East Indies, and even China. In this last volume he describes the third journey to India, and his life in and impressions of his home country. What is vividly revealed in this book is his power of observation: nothing seemed to escape his keen eye. He witnessed the state funeral of Cromwell and also the restoration of the Stuarts. Yet, in spite of his wonderful experiences, he found himself a lonely man. Great credit is due to both editors of the work, as it requires a great deal of knowledge and of research to follow our Mundy throughout the world. The notes are stupendous; a list of the books and manuscripts used for the preparation of the work is a testimony of what had to be gone through. A few text illustrations, plates, and a map of the Malabar coast add to the general interest of this great work.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN, 1837-1907. By William Habberton. (Urbana: University of Illinois.) \$1.50.

The position of Afghanistan as an independent state has for the last hundred years been the source of anxiety for both Great Britain and Russia. Professor Habberton of America has entered upon his task with great independence of opinion which is based on extensive study, mainly from English sources. The monograph does not dwell upon details of the Anglo-Afghan wars, although he explains their causes. Professor Habberton rejects the use of war for imperial aims altogether. He holds the view that Britain in an age of annexations wished to bring Afghanistan under political influence in order to defend the frontiers of India. The best solution seemed to be to adopt the plan of a buffer state, and this appears to be the real policy, although a new inroad into Afghanistan is most unlikely today. Professor Habberton has gone very deeply into the subject, every page shows the reference to authorities, and an exhaustive bibliography which includes articles in periodicals ends the study.

OBSERVATION IN RUSSIA. By Sidney I. Luck. (Macmillan.) 10s. 6d. net.

The author has the double advantage of having lived in Russia before the Revolution and of visiting it again recently, not as a tourist, but a member of an eclipse expedition to Omsk. He recounts his experiences in the form of a day-by-day diary, and his narrative is very stimulating. One reason is that it is written with obvious sincerity, commending and criticizing with great impartiality. Of his visit to Leningrad he writes: "I can go wherever I like. I wander into courtyards similar to those that are known in Glasgow as 'closes,' I speak to people, I go into shops; I even tell the assistants that their prices are exorbitant. No one cares and no one bothers."

In a foreword Professor Carroll, of Aberdeen University, gives some account of the technical side of the expedition, and refers to the excellence of

the pre-arrangements of the special committee of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the lively interest of the Soviet Ambassador in London.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO, TOGETHER WITH THE TRAVELS OF NICOLÒ DE CONTI. Edited from the Elizabethan translation of John Frampton. With introduction, notes and appendices by N. M. Penzer. Second edition. With eleven maps. (*A. and C. Black.*) 18s. net.

There is a great attraction in the remarkable adventures of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo. Many editions have been issued, and that of Frampton's English translation is not one of the least esteemed.

Mr. Penzer, the able editor of the *Ocean of Story*, issued in 1929 an edition de luxe, provided with a long masterly introduction and with explanatory notes which must appeal to the well-to-do man of leisure. The editor has done well in reissuing it at a price more within the reach of the average reader of culture, and the publishers have combined with him to make a wider circulation possible. The notes and appendices should be appreciated by the readers who are not satisfied with the text only. It is a fine, attractive publication at a low price.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS

L'INDE SECRÈTE ET SA MAGIE, by Jean Marquès-Rivière (*Les Œuvres Françaises*); VOYAGE AUX INDES, by F. Goethel (*Gallimard*); COURRIER D'ASIE, by O. P. Gilbert (*Gallimard*).

(Reviewed by CHARLES A. KINCAID.)

India still continues to attract men of all nationalities. No Englishman feels his education complete unless he has paid it at least one flying visit. The mere name of India fills Frenchmen with strange thrills and longings, and it appears that even Poles are not immune to its uncanny lure. The first of the three books before us is by a French author, and the second by a writer from Cracow, whose work has been translated into French.

Although M. Rivière, the author of *L'Inde Secrète et sa Magie*, armed himself with the circular ticket of the ordinary tourist, he went out resolved to see the India of yogis and fakirs, the land of strange legends and stranger happenings. To do so he had to wear Indian dress, to eat Indian food, to sleep on village cots, to expose himself to malarial attacks, to fast, to study astrology, to frequent Hindu temples; in fact, to become as nearly a Hindu as a European can. In this way he contrived to collect more experiences during his short stay than most foreigners gather in thirty years. By relating them M. Rivière has achieved a most fascinating and original piece of work.

On leaving Bombay, M. Rivière first visited the Kathi State of Jasdan, and was present at the Dasra festival; from Jasdan he made his way to Benares, the Rome of the Hindu faith. There he looked with understanding on the bodies in the burning ghats, the holy cattle in the crowded streets. He

bathed face and hands in the sacred river and discussed with a wandering ascetic the respective merits of Hinduism and Christianity.

From Benares the train took the wanderer to Central India, where he was present at a tiger shoot; but he was more interested in psychic phenomena than in the chase, and the remainder of the book describes experiences with yogis, anchorites, and mahatmas. Most of his stories are told at second hand; of these the most striking was the adventure of a Hindu who went in search of Kamarup, the fabled woman's kingdom that is believed to exist somewhere in the far north of India. The Hindu reached Kamarup, was taken prisoner and turned into a ram. A similar tale has been told by Victor Dane in *Naked Ascetic*. That traveller met an Englishman who had tried to pry into the secrets of the woman's kingdom, but had been turned into a he-goat. Possibly both stories are echoes of Circe's garden in the *Odyssey*. M. Rivière, however, had several weird adventures of his own, and these he has related admirably. Indeed, his book is quite different from any other work on India that I have seen. I can thoroughly recommend it.

Voyage aux Indes, by M. Goethel, is a very different type of book. It relates the writer's adventures—all of a mild type—during a three months' tour through India. The book's chief attraction is that it is from the pen of a Polish writer of distinction; it has been translated into French by another Pole, M. Bohomolec. Forgetful of Poland's centuries of glorious history, Englishmen were before the Great War apt to regard Poland as a mere province of Russia. Really it was Poland that gave to Russia such civilization as it ever possessed. Once more independent, Poland has again become what it was in the days of Sobieski, the great frontier fortress of Christendom; while Russia, stripped of Poland and the Baltic provinces, has relapsed into its pristine barbarism. M. Goethel's outlook, as befits a citizen of the new Poland, is sturdily Western, and, although he does not seem much to like Englishmen, he likes Indians still less. Nevertheless, his book is full of well-expressed wisdom and excellent judgments. He travelled from Bombay to Udaipur, of which he duly appreciated the romantic setting. Lahore was his next halt, and then Delhi. Like M. Clemenceau, he foresaw the time when the ruins of New Delhi would be added to those of its seven predecessors. He visited Benares and disliked it, but his account of the Buddhist monastery in Sikkim is most entertaining. The part of his tour that he seems to have liked best was, I think, his meeting with a Polish missionary who worked in the tea plantations of Assam; and, indeed, Father Piasecki seems to have been fully worthy of his countryman's esteem. He had devoted his life and health to help the coolies in the tea plantations. They were mostly parias from Madras and the easy prey of grasping agents and "get-rich-quick" managers. Above all, Father Piasecki could and did talk through the night to M. Goethel about their beloved Poland.

The third book, *Courrier d'Asie*, is not about India, but about China. It consists of three rather lengthy "short stories," written with rare skill and knowledge. The French and English characters in the book are mostly worthless, but the villainy of the Chinese characters is naked and wholly unashamed. Indeed, the Indian Penal Code lacks provisions with which to punish their wickedness. The first of the tales is about an appalling personage

called Ruiten, who trafficked in drugs, white women, and Chinese coolies. Eventually he met with poetic justice, for the coolies broke loose, hit him over the head, and flung him into the sea. In the second tale we read of the siege of French engineers by Chinese bandits. The third story is concerned with the White Russian female refugees in Shanghai.

I can thoroughly recommend all three books to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

TRIUMPHANT PILGRIMAGE. AN ENGLISH MUSLIM. JOURNEY FROM SARAWAK TO MECCA. By Owen Rutter. With two portraits. (*Harrop*.) 10s. 6d. net.

This is the story of a young man who, after service in the British Navy, tried his fortune in city life and finally landed at Sarawak in order to fill a post in the Rajah's service. That work did not fulfil his aspirations, but he had occasion to observe the religious and practical side of Islam amongst the Malays. The young man, called David Chale, found at last his peace of mind, but also remarked that it was necessary to strengthen Islam, and decided to undertake the pilgrimage. In order to do so, and for his own purpose, as he admits, young Chale marries a Malay woman. Both of them make the journey and after many difficulties succeed in finding their way to King Sa'ud, and finally perform the ceremonies of the Haj. Having found peace and happiness in Islam at Mecca, they turn to Medina and at last each of the happy pair return to their respective homes in the hope that some day Chale will return to Sarawak to join his spouse. The intention is to bring the Malays back to the realities of Islam, probably when he has grown a little older, and make it once more a living force. He is of opinion that the two great forces—Islam and British imperial democracy—will work for the good of humanity.

Mr. Rutter assures us that the adventures and the personality of the young convert are authentic. Whether his aims will be fulfilled remains to be seen, but the account of his life and the picture of the religion are interesting and trustworthy.

A SHORT GRAMMAR OF OLD PERSIAN. With a Reader. By T. Hudson-Williams. (*Cardiff: University of Wales*.) 5s. net.

Professor Hudson-Williams has now added to his introduction to the study of comparative grammar a short grammar of Old Persian, a group of the Indo-Iranian group. This book of fifty-one pages, though small, contains everything that is necessary for the beginner. It has the advantage of teaching in easy stages the elements of that grammar. The Reader is most helpful, being in transcribed Roman characters, with interlinear translation and explanatory notes; finally, there is a vocabulary of words that occur in the text. Surely, compared with the old clumsy Oriental grammars, this new one on Old Persian should be a real pleasure to the student.

INDIA

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, VOLUME IV.: THE MUGHAL PERIOD.
(Cambridge University Press.) 42s. net

(Reviewed by J. V. S. WILKINSON)

This volume almost completes the Cambridge History, for only Volume II.—probably the most difficult of all to write—now remains unpublished.

The central theme is, of course, the often-told story of the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire, beginning with Babur and ending with the accession of Shāh 'Alam II. Though the several European Powers appear on the scene, references to them and their fortunes are only incidental; but the histories of the Deccan kingdoms, of the Marathas, and of Burma are traced in considerable detail.

Much sympathy will be felt for Sir Wolsley Haig, whose ill-health has prevented him from completing all the chapters which he undertook to write, and also from editing the whole volume, the plan of which is his; but Sir Richard Burn, besides making himself responsible for the important chapters on Humāyūn, Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān, has carried out the labours of general editor with great skill. Of the other contributors, Sir Denison Ross finds a congenial subject in Bābur; Sir J. N. Sarkar writes learnedly on Aurangzeb and his successors and on the Hyderabad State, and Maratha and Burmese history receive expert treatment from Messrs. H. G. Rawlinson and G. E. Harvey. Mr. W. H. Moreland, unquestionably the leading authority on his subject, makes hard things clear in his chapter on the emperors' revenue system; and Mr. Percy Brown describes, with the aid of his wide personal knowledge, their magnificent architectural achievements.

These writers make a strong team, and their work has been well co-ordinated; there is none of the overlapping which is apt to mar joint productions. The volume is rounded off with maps, bibliographies, and chronological tables; and the illustrations (nearly a hundred) of Mughal architectural monuments make a delightful book of themselves, provoking the reflection that, whatever our verdict on the emperors' system, they have furnished unanswerable proofs of their greatness in stone and marble.

The Empire, from its peculiar nature, was dependent on the character and power of its rulers. Even Mr. H. G. Wells, who hates the hero, calls Akbar one of the "hinges of history," and has quite a lot to say about him. Apart from Akbar himself, no dynasty in history provided a greater variety of types than the Mughal. Moreover, while the authors of this volume will no doubt be criticized for the conservatism of their method, and for telling us more about the rulers than the ruled, they can plead that the Indian historical sources contain but little information about the people and their social life.

One of the outstanding merits of the book is its impartiality. The characters of the great figures of the age—Akbar, Shivaji, Aurangzeb—about whom so much controversy exists, are dispassionately estimated, while on the vexed question as to who was responsible for the design of the Taj Mahal

Mr. Percy Brown displays a similar spirit. "The truth seems to be that Verrocco was invited, as were others, to produce designs, but that prepared by the Mughal master-builders was the one eventually selected."

This fourth volume may not please everybody. It is not, perhaps, completely satisfactory as a critical history; it might, with advantage, contain more on the literary and intellectual movements of the age; it does not, by the eliciting of fresh facts, change perspectives greatly. But as a well and fairly written account of one of the most colourful periods of Indian history, and as a valuable reference book, it has a value far above its price.

INDIA: A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY. By H. G. Rawlinson. (*The Cresses Press*.) 30s. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUEHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Mr. Rawlinson has given us a very impressive book: well written, well produced, and most admirably well illustrated. I do not remember having seen more pleasing plates in any publication; and I should desire to congratulate the publishers upon the excellence both of the plates themselves and of their reproduction.

This book will enhance the deservedly high reputation for sound scholarship that its author already enjoys. True, it is not the book for which many of us are still waiting. But the responsibility for this does not, I feel sure, lie wholly with Mr. Rawlinson.

My criticisms are directed to two points. In regard to one, I feel entitled to express disappointment. In regard to the other, I feel that Mr. Rawlinson has himself been the victim of circumstances.

To deal with the first point. I am not sure that I know the exact meaning of the adjective "cultural" as applied to history. Is a "cultural history" the same thing as a "history of culture"? Or is it history of the ordinary political kind with the addition of chapters at appropriate intervals dealing with contemporary art and literature? In my view, Mr. Rawlinson's book occupies a position intermediate between these two very different things. To class it in the second category would be ungenerous; for Mr. Rawlinson's chapters on art and letters are far from being mere interpolations; they are part and parcel of his main narrative. At the same time, I am clear in my own mind that Mr. Rawlinson has not written a history of Indian culture; for he is little concerned with the development of abstract thought, with the contraction or enlargement of mental horizons, and in general with the long and complex process which has made the Indian *Weltanschauung* something so remote from the comprehension of the British. Since it is the author's avowed—and most commendable—aim to reveal the significance of India's contribution to world culture, I cannot but deem that his book would have been more complete had he devoted some attention to the history of Indian thought both in politics and in æsthetics. "Today," as he justly remarks, "when India is once more emerging, with that persistent vitality which has

been her characteristic through the ages, from eclipse, it is more than ever incumbent on us to realize the greatness of her past achievements, in religion, politics, art and literature." Quite so; but the omission of "philosophy" is surely to be regretted.

The second point is, I am sure, not the fault of Mr. Rawlinson. No doubt the editor of the series has not realized the extent to which Western influence contributes to the corpus of Indian culture as we see it today. In the case of the volumes on Japan and China, there is no doubt a good case for refusing to enter upon the controversies inseparable from a consideration of modern times. But, in the case of India, a limitation of this character is most regrettable. If this or any book is to lead Englishmen to a better comprehension of India's greatness, its readers must be familiarized not merely with India's past achievements, but also with their present-day resultant. Such a synthesis is lacking. "Indian cultural history," as no one knows better than Mr. Rawlinson, did not cease with the rise of British dominion in India; it was (and is still) profoundly influenced by that phenomenon. Owing no doubt to the limitations imposed upon him by the design of the series of which this book forms a part, Mr. Rawlinson devotes 398 pages—not a page too many—to the task of bringing his narrative to the middle of the eighteenth century. He is thus left with 20 pages for the British period; and with no pages at all for estimating the effect of the impingement of Western culture upon the cultural elements already present in India. Possibly from the strictly chronological standpoint, such a distribution of space may be defended. But we are here not concerned with chronology; the objective is "cultural history." The "cultural history" now being made in India is a typically Indian synthesis, consisting partly of the diverse cultural elements present in the country before the rise of British power, and partly of the Western elements introduced thereafter. I am quite sure Mr. Rawlinson would agree that these Western elements are just as real a part of present-day Indian culture as the indigenous and earlier-imported elements which have in time preceded them. I feel strongly that no "Cultural History of India" can afford to ignore this fact, or can escape the duty of illustrating the processes from which it resulted.

These are my only criticisms of the book. For the rest, I have nothing but commendation. The narrative stretches in its stately range from the earliest chapters of India's history and artistic achievement, as revealed by the recently discovered settlements in Sind, with their marked Mesopotamian affiliations, to the period when the impact of British sea-power was introducing a new factor into the eventful history of the country. Mr. Rawlinson has wide sympathies. His dealings with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, as well as many other religious cults and creeds, are enviably impartial. He well maintains the balance between Hindustan and Southern India; and has avoided the temptation—to which many English writers fall victims—of reserving his best efforts for the more eventful history of the North. He is perhaps at his best when treating of some great figure such as Akbar; for his strength lies most notably in dealing with the concrete and the tangible rather than with the theoretical and the speculative. But his chapters on literature are most admirable, both for skilled selection and for sympathetic

interpretation. They will be read with pleasure by many to whom his political chapters present little that is new.

Mr. Rawlinson's love of India and all its peoples is revealed in every line. His style is worthy of his subject. It is always dignified, often stately, and on occasion, as when enthusiasm fires him, touches high levels of eloquence.

I should like to bring to Mr. Rawlinson's attention the fact that in the first sentence of the first page there is an unfortunate *lapsus calami*. According to Mr. Rawlinson, *The Times* declared that Indian history has never been made interesting to Indian readers, except by rhetoric. This, of course, reads like nonsense. Indian readers are as a rule pathetically interested in Indian history; and often complain that English historians fail to do it justice. What *The Times* actually wrote in its issue of February 12, 1892, was that Indian history had never been made interesting to *English* readers, except by rhetoric—a statement which was perhaps truer then than it is today.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR
THE YEAR 1933-34.

(Reviewed by HAROLD H. MANN.)

In view of the share which the Indian States will have in the coming Indian Federation, it is of more interest than ever before to know the actual conditions in the various States which are to form part of that Federation. This is particularly the case in connection with the larger and more important States whose area is comparable with that of an Indian Province. It is well known of course that these conditions differ very much. Some of the States, such as Mysore or Baroda, have the reputation of being very advanced, and in these it is certain that the condition of the people and the development of the country has received at least as much attention as in British India. In other cases, however, it is generally supposed that the condition of affairs is far otherwise, and that some States are looked upon by their rulers as being rather in the nature of private properties, which exist primarily for the benefit of the ruler, than as States in which the condition of the people is the first consideration.

The largest State in India, the Nizam's Dominions, occupies one of the key positions in the Indian peninsula. It represents on the whole an area whose development as a centre of population and of government dates from a far earlier period than either the Bombay Presidency on the West or the Central Provinces on the East. When Poona was a small provincial town situated in the wild approach to the Western Ghats, Hyderabad and its surroundings were among the richest parts of India. The key position of this State was so much recognized by the Mogul Emperors that the capital of the whole of their possessions was at one time transferred to Aurangabad, as being the most convenient spot for the supervision of their vast empire.

But not long ago the Hyderabad State was usually considered very backward in comparison with the British Provinces in India. I remember, myself, long before I knew anything about this State, standing in Khandesh and

looking over towards the plateau which I knew was part of the Nizam's Dominions, and considering it as rather an undeveloped portion of India. Things, however, have changed under the rule of the present Nizam. The report here reviewed represents the latest published account of the administration of a State which has become very progressive. There is no doubt that these developments were very badly needed. From whatever point of view the State was considered, it is clear that thirty years ago comparatively little had been done to modernize its organization, or to do those things for the people which, however inadequately done, have become the commonplaces of administration in the British provinces. Railways were insufficient, roads were poor and, except for a very few among them, were difficult to use in the rainy season. Irrigation, except from the tanks, which, in the eastern half of the State at any rate, are of very old standing, hardly existed. The various so-called "nation-building" departments were in a very primitive condition, and, except perhaps in Hyderabad and the cantonments near it, one felt on entering the Nizam's Dominions from a British province that one had gone into an area which recalled descriptions of pre-British India.

There is no doubt that the situation in Hyderabad offered peculiar difficulties. The organization of the State is definitely aristocratic, with large areas—about one-third of the whole—forming the domains of the Nizam himself and of his nobles, over which the activities of the State authorities, as such, are severely circumscribed. Then, again, we have a Mussulman State with a predominantly Hindu population, and in spite of complete tolerance, this will always be a handicap to real advance. Further, even less than in British India, the people have had little voice in determining what should be done for them.

In spite of all these difficulties, however, a very great change has taken place during the last thirty years, and very great credit is due to the present Nizam and his administrators for the way in which the State has been brought into line with the rest of India. No doubt a great deal of leeway has to be made up, but there is an atmosphere of progress which cannot be missed by anyone who now visits even the outlying parts of the country, and I think that the heartiest congratulations of all well-wishers of the Indian States must be given to those who have been responsible for the developments of the last few years.

It is impossible in a review like the present to do more than indicate three or four of the lines of development which have led to the improved position of which I have spoken. Of these I will choose three. The first is the remarkable improvement in the finances of the State which in recent years has been connected with the name of Sir Akbar Hydari. At present it would seem that we should have to go far to find a state or province whose economic position is sounder than that of Hyderabad. In thirty years the State revenue has risen from Rs. 4.69 crores to Rs. 7.95 crores, and, though expenditure has risen to about the same extent, yet the most remarkable thing is that at the end of a long period of development the total Government debt is now little over 6 crores of rupees for a State of 82,000 square miles and a population of 14½ millions, while no less than 1½ crores of Government debt were paid off in the year under review.

The second line of development has been the extension of irrigation. The eastern part of the State, the Telingana, has always been a great area for tank irrigation, but little effort had been made to utilize the waters in the rivers of the State for similar purposes. Now, however, a fine irrigation system has been built up based on the waters of the Manjhra River. This represents one of the larger Deccan schemes. Even now the actual utilization of the water has not been completely organized, but the main and branch canals of this scheme have been completed to the extent, with distributaries, of 338 miles, and water was, in the year under report, let out over an area which makes this one of the very important irrigation protective works of the Deccan. This is only one of quite a large number of similar though smaller schemes which have been either partially or wholly brought into use. Still larger projects based on the Krishna, Tungabhadra, and other rivers are under preparation, and I fancy that it is not the fault of the Nizam's Dominions that some of these have not gone further towards realization than has hitherto been the case.

A third line of development on which a great deal of energy has been expended in recent years is the Agricultural Department, and I know no part of British India where the response of the people has been more ready than in a number of parts of Hyderabad. There is no more interesting portion of the report than that which describes all that is being done to apply agricultural discovery to the needs of this State. In this connection I might call attention to the fact that certain parts of the dominions are peculiarly subject to famine, the Raichur district being an extreme instance. The protection of the country against famine is one of the most serious preoccupations of the State authorities, and, apart entirely from the extension of irrigation, which is, of course, the method *par excellence* of mitigating the danger of famine, a very great deal has been done by other well-known methods to make the country more independent of the vagaries of the season.

I have been asked how the condition of the people, and especially of the rural classes, of the Nizam's Dominions compares with that in British India. The report shows the preoccupation of the State authorities with the improvement of that condition. As to results, I can only compare, from personal knowledge, the Marathi-speaking districts with those of the adjoining Bombay Deccan, and I think I may say with certainty that the people appear as well off as those in the adjoining British province, with the additional advantage that there seems little or no doubt that money will be available in the next few years to apply effectively all that is known which may make for further improvements. Personally, I hope to see big reductions in the land revenue in the comparatively near future, and if this can be done it may make this State one of the pioneers in making the advance in the condition of the people the primary preoccupation of the Government.

ANNUAL REPORT ON H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S STATE RAILWAY FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1937. (Secundarabad Deccan: H.E.H. *The Nizam's State Railway Press*.)

(Reviewed by G. H. ORMEROD.)

The Nizam's State Railway serves the territory ruled by H.E.H. the Nizam, which has an area of about 65,000 square miles and a population of 11 million. These figures exclude Berar. The total mileage of the system is 1,348-667 of the 5' 6" and 623 of the metre gauge—and includes 58 miles of line owned by the Government of India, but worked by the Nizam's State Railway Administration.

The Report under review, which was compiled by Mr. Firminger, the acting Agent, and is made to H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway Board in London, must have given equal pleasure to the compiler and to those to whom it was addressed. It is a record of a most successful year's working, and reveals a spirit of grappling with the difficulties which in these days beset all railway administrations. It is well deserving of study by all who are in any way responsible for railway working in India.

This is attested by the following figures:

Capital at charge	Rs. 14-65 lakhs
Gross earnings	" 2 16 "
Working expenses	" 1 07 "
Ratio working expenses to gross earnings	49 8
Percentage of net earnings on capital	7 4

The above figures are for the railway only, but this administration has faced road competition in a wholehearted fashion, with financial results favourable in themselves to this extension of their undertaking, and which must have preserved revenue for the railway by the co-ordination of feeder services with railway working.

In May, 1936, a separate department for road transport was organized under the Agent, and expanded from 137 vehicles, goods and passenger, to 318, with an increase in earnings from Rs. 13 34 lakhs to Rs. 22 96 lakhs. Per vehicle mile there was a decrease from 81 7 pies to 71 8 pies, mainly due to special circumstances.

The financial results of the road services in the year under report were as follows:

Route miles	3,977
Capital at charge	Rs. 46,61,119
Gross earnings	" 22,96,473
Working expenses	" 19,15,060
Ratio working expenses to gross earnings	83 4
Net	" 3,81,413

The Report, in dealing with road competition, generally states that this is increasing, particularly by privately owned goods lorries operated on parallel and short-circuiting routes. It is, however, one of the many satisfactory points of this Report that the Road Development Committee is studying

the question, and in the subject of road construction are in touch with the Road Board of H.E.H.'s Government. It is also satisfactory to notice that the Railway Administration does not regard every road parallel with the railway as necessarily detrimental. A road with a bus and lorry may, it is recognized, enable the speeding up of trains between important stations. This question is ultimately one of comparative economy between the light mixed train with frequent halts and the Diesel-engined lorry and bus, and is at present in an early experimental stage.

The co-ordination of road and rail services has been expedited by the establishment of out agencies for the collection and delivery of goods by lorry, charging 1 pie per maund per mile, and in one instance experimentally $\frac{1}{2}$ pie per maund-mile. It is anticipated that progress will be made with the extension of these services. When one realizes that these road services already are in route mileage double that of the railway, it becomes clear how important these services are from the viewpoint of publicity alone.

In connection with these services the Railway Administration has also instituted combined bus and rail excursions at low fares, and has issued most interesting and well-produced brochures illustrative of the points of interest and beauty in the territory. The financial results of these excursions are not impressive, but Indians are a nation of sightseers, and apart from direct earnings the excursions are a valuable national service, and a service which should be made by a national railway.

This brings the reviewer to an impression which he has gained from a study of this most interesting Report—viz., the inestimable value of a railway being in close and intimate relations with the State, as in this case, and in British India with the Province, its Government and people. The interests of both are identical, and yet in British India, with railways controlled by the Government of India in far-away Delhi, there would seem to have been in the past almost a total absence of co-ordinate working in the development of agriculture and industry. Consultation on the development of resources between railway commercial departments and corresponding departments in Provincial Governments are unknown. In H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway the Report states:

"The Chief Commercial Manager is a member of the Industrial Area Development Committee, Hyderabad, and he is preparing an art-paper booklet entitled *Industrial Development, Hyderabad*. A close *liaison* is maintained between the Commercial Department and the Commerce and Industries Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, and efforts are being made to establish industries which would necessitate the import of raw materials and thus improve the average lead of traffic."

The Report is amply provided with the tables and graphs usual in a Railway Administration Report, some of which show comparative results with railways in British India.

THE HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY ARMY. By Sir Patrick Cadell. (*Longmans.*) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNET LOVETT.)

A military history of this kind, founded on the author's long personal contact with the races of the Bombay Presidency, his acquaintance with all its parts, his experience as Chief Secretary to the Local Government in the war period, and as a Volunteer Military Officer of high standing, carries with it exceptional authority. Bearing every mark of elaborate research and careful thought, it appears at an opportune moment, for now hard facts have compelled sensible persons to recognize that in human affairs there is no lasting haven, and that, whether we like it or not, we are afloat on largely untried and somewhat tempestuous seas. But, in Kipling's words, "Was there storm? Our fathers faced it and a wilder never blew, Earth that waited for the wreckage watched the galley struggle through." Past experience and careful study of our history in India are wonderfully cheering; and by his work on this book Sir Patrick Cadell has made a valuable addition to his long record of devoted service.

In his first chapter he gives as the strongest justification of his history "the consistent loyalty of the Bombay army and its freedom from the stain of insubordination," and quotes the words of Sir Charles Napier: "I feel fearless of an enemy at the head of Bombay troops. With the Bombay soldiers of Meeanee and Hyderabad I could walk through all lands. They are active daring, hardy chaps worthy of Sivaji himself." In the second chapter we are told how the patriotic Hindu revival under Sivaji, by embracing all castes to an extent unknown in any other part of India, welded the population of Maharashtra, "the natural hinterland of Bombay and afterwards the bulk of its Presidency," into a national race of warriors and set an example which was followed by the British in later times, for they recruited not only from the castes which supplied Sivaji's army, but also from the Beni Israel, a small community of Jews who had been located for more than a thousand years on the coast near Bombay and now produced many good native officers. Other sources of supply were the out-caste pre-Aryans, and notably the Mahars or Parwaris. Men were also accepted from other parts of the country, although recruiting parties were not sent into the Deccan until after the conclusion of the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. But eventually just as caste feeling caused the elimination of the lower castes from the armies of the Peshwas who supplanted the successors of Sivaji, so did it tend toward the same result in the regiments of the Bombay army. The main element in that army was the Maratha, "always a good and reliable soldier, whether he came from the Konkan or the Deccan." But in the long run he succumbed to the caste consciousness which is so powerful in India.

The book describes the immense difficulties which beset the first British settlers and garrisons of Bombay. From land and water their existence was threatened, and more than once affairs "vibrated to the edge of perdition." Their masters at home were stupid and parsimonious; their neighbours were often hostile; their boundaries were extremely insecure. But Gerald

Augier, governor from 1669 to 1677, by organizing defence forces from unpromising materials, by meeting an attack from a powerful Dutch fleet with undaunted front, by sending garrisons to outlying factories imperilled by pirates and predatory county powers, preserved the infant settlement from strangulation. He temporarily enlisted Muslims and Rajputs to meet Dutch and Portuguese menaces; and after his time, in 1684, orders came from London to enlist permanently "two companies of Rashpouts from the main." Thus was laid the foundation of the Indian portion of the Company's army. Meantime the population of Bombay island had rapidly increased under Augier's administration, which offered a refuge from the tyranny of neighbouring rulers and the proselytizing zeal of the Portuguese. It is remarkable that from the year 1690, when the English were besieged for some months in their castle by the Sidi's forces under orders from Aurangzeb, Bombay Island, in spite of its circumscribed limits and weak defences, was never again invaded by any considerable hostile force. Although, as is here stated, this emergency taught the necessity of strengthening the island's defences and of keeping a stronger force at sea, the settlers would hardly have been so fortunate had not the Peshwa's Government, after taking the adjacent island of Salsette from the Portuguese in 1737-9, concerned itself with "concentrating its strength in the interior to meet Nadir Shah and other adversaries," and entertained "a healthy respect for the sea-power and trading usefulness of Bombay." But the occupation of Salsette by a Maratha force was obviously a standing menace of grave moment; and Sir Patrick practically endorses the verdict of Warren Hastings on its conquest by the forces of the Bombay Government in 1674 as "an act of necessity and of good policy, not inconsistent with the most rigid principles of political justice." There is no doubt that the determination of Governor Hornby to forestall the Portuguese and secure the island for the Company without delay was dictated by regard for the vital interests of his employers. It did no real injustice to the Marathas, always freebooters themselves, who about thirty-five years before had forcibly captured Salsette from the Portuguese; and it placed the safety and the trade of Bombay on a far more stable footing. Bombay has been fortunate in its governors on critical occasions: in Gerald Augier, Hornby, Mountstuart Elphinstone, his nephew Lord Elphinstone, and in our own time Lord Willingdon.

In the first Maratha war the Company's Bombay Sepoys, led by British officers, first "established their name." We may quote Grant-Duff's eulogy of James Hartley, one of their most forceful leaders: "He was well known to the Sepoys, who have much discernment in the character of their officers, and are very different under different men; but in the hour of need, where they have experienced kindness and seen their officers worthy of confidence, there probably never was an instance of misconduct. An officer, even in a subordinate rank, has a charge not only difficult in itself, but of higher national importance when leading the natives of India than is likely to fall to the lot of a junior officer in any other branch of the British service." A striking instance of the devotion of the Bombay Sepoys to their officers is given on page 109 of this book; and although the Local Government, being

merely a coastal power and enjoying no territorial revenues, dependent therefore in the main on the general resources of the Company, was unable to offer even the meagre rates of pay obtainable by junior officers in the other two Presidencies, there was keen competition for military commissions as the life with its unlimited opportunities for sport and adventure, its chances of prize money and distinction, appealed strongly to British, and especially to Scottish, youth. In the King's army, too, service in India was popular; and transfers to the Company's European regiments were sometimes permitted. Scarcity of money, however, must mean inadequate forces in emergencies; and we learn that under the strain of Bombay's participation in Cornwallis' war against Tipu, so great was the lack of troops at the centre of the Presidency that the garrison of Salsette was merely "the small invalid corps." It was in the course of this war that Captain Little won the battle of Shimoga on December 29, 1791, with 800 men, his casualties being 62, including all his British officers killed or wounded. Later on the conduct of Bombay troops at Seedaser in the last Mysore war was declared by Lord Wellesley never to have been surpassed in India.

In the second Maratha war the Bombay army again proved too small for the needs of the occasion and took little share in Arthur Wellesley's brilliant campaign in the Deccan.

With the conclusion of the third Maratha war and the overthrow of the last Peshwa, the Bombay Presidency at last became a continental power, and the Bombay army was more largely recruited from up-country Muhammadans, Rajputana men, and "Poorbeahs," all "Pardesis" (foreigners). But it preserved its earlier characteristics; and Sir Charles Napier, whose "striking and picturesque personality made him a popular favourite with the army in India," observed on his final departure from that country: "I love the Bombay army most. I never think of its Sepoys without admiration." After the conquest of Sindh he introduced a Baluch element; but Marathas were still the main strength of the army and their amenity to discipline leavened the rest. The loyalty of the force in the Mutiny and its fine conduct in the field are described in Chapter XII.

Afterwards the old Indian Navy, previously known as the Bombay Marine, ceased to exist. The army had often greatly profited by its co-operation. The chance of internal disorder had now practically disappeared, and the centre of military gravity had shifted further toward the north-west frontier. As Sir Patrick observes: "Only the fact of its readiness and convenience for overseas service and of its holding Sind and therefore the road to Baluchistan and Southern Afghanistan saved the Bombay army from the danger of stagnation." In the Abyssinian war it supplied almost the whole of the Indian portion of the force which, under the Bombay commander-in-chief, Robert Napier, and with "a strong stiffening of British soldiers," in Fortescue's words, displayed an "extraordinarily fine spirit." In a chapter on the part played by the Bombay army in the second Afghan war the disaster of Maiwand is discussed, and it is pointed out that the Bombay soldiers on that occasion "fought stoutly till the limit of endurance was reached." In 1893 the Bombay army was merged in the army of India for reasons given on pages 248-50. Industrial development, extension of

railways, alterations in fashions of thought, processes going on day by day, had affected recruitment in the Presidency; the true Marathas were resenting enlistment from castes whom they considered their inferiors. Altogether the change was inevitable. Class companies were introduced, and the old mixed system of recruitment was laid aside to be resumed temporarily under the stress of the Great War. In the early stages of that stupendous struggle the Marathas responded readily to the call for recruits, showing "their recollection of past tradition by expressing that preference for particular regiments which had been remarked as far back as 1797." They were in no way discouraged by their losses in Mesopotamia. But the sources of recruitment were too limited and the old system of military recruiting parties was inadequate. The wholehearted co-operation of the civil administration was obtained, and the caste limits were widened with reluctant assent from army headquarters, not unnaturally, as reorganization of habits and revival of a military spirit which had been left to burn low or die out must be particularly difficult to achieve in India. It appears, however, that "there was sufficient evidence that given reasonable opportunity the fighting races of the Western Presidency would show their old tenacity." But clearly the "reasonable opportunity" must be forthcoming. The last chapter of the book contains a grave warning. The personal connection of the Bombay regiments with the Presidency by recruitment is now confined to a few battalions. "There is always the danger that this small proportion may be still further reduced, and the statement is constantly made that recruits of a sufficiently good physique are not forthcoming. But the wiry Bombay Sepoys were not found wanting in the privations of Mesopotamia or in the long marches of Allenby's advance into Palestine." The military authorities in India must seek to obtain the best material obtainable. "But there is obviously a real danger when we find some 85 per cent. of the present Indian army to be recruited from less than 30 per cent. of the total area of India." There certainly is, especially under existing conditions of warfare. Sir Patrick Cadell considers that willingness and ability to serve may still be found among the people of the Deccan and Konkan of Bombay.

There are appendices valuable to the military student and a very useful bibliography. The whole book is written in a clear, attractive style, and will be useful both to those who make a special study of military history and to all who take an active interest in the past, present and future of that western shore of India, where

"Still lie gold beaches, sunset-kissed,
As Vasco saw them lie;
And still the Ghat hills through the mist
Lift timeless heads on high."

INDIA AND ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

REPORT OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER, MILAN, 1936-37. By M. R. Ahuja.

REPORT OF INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER, 1936-37. By Sir David Meek, C.I.E., D.S.C.

TRADE STATISTICS WITH A REVIEW FOR 1344 FASLI (1934-35 A.D.). By Mazhar Husain, M.A., B.Sc., Director of Statistics, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE: ANNUAL REPORT, 1937. By the Director, Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

(Reviewed by R. W. Brock.)

The thread which links all economic reports today, irrespective of their authorship or country of origin, is the evidence they all afford of the feverish pursuit of industrial self-sufficiency. In India the application of the new ideal is not limited to the relations of the country as a whole with other political units in the Empire or beyond; it also extends to individual Indian Provinces and States, each anxious to meet their own requirements without assistance from their neighbours. Thus, in the Report on trade issued by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, covering the year 1934-35, one finds the characteristic comment: "Textiles continue to occupy the leading position in the list of imports. The growing volume of trade seems to suggest the immense possibilities of developing the cottage and (mill) industries on these lines. The Hyderabad State is the third largest cotton-growing centre of India, and the yield, if properly handled and converted into clothing, would be a fruitful source of enriching the economic condition of these Dominions." A perfectly legitimate ambition—reflected in an increase in mill production in the State of ten million yards during the year under review—the ultimate outcome of which will probably be the exclusion from India of imported cotton goods from all sources.

The Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner in Milan indicates the reactions on Indian exports of the application of the same doctrine in Italy and certain other countries which were formerly large importers of Indian products. As the result of Italy's continued efforts to make herself self-sufficient, to quote the High Commissioner's concise summary of Mr. Ahuja's survey: "India, which had stood fifth in order of importance amongst the countries contributing to the import trade of Italy, fell back to the ninth place in 1936, her total trade having shrunk to the comparatively small figure of 137 million lire." Largely owing to the general adhesion of European countries to self-sufficiency programmes, Indian exports to Continental Europe have been approximately halved within a relatively short period, and unfortunately there are no immediate indications of this disastrous movement being reversed. Not the least important of the factors contributing to the decline of British exports to India has been the concurrent decline in India's former very favourable balance of trade with Europe, and the resultant inability of India to trade with Great Britain except on a bilateral basis; adequate allowance being necessary, in this connection, for

the governing circumstance that, in relation to India, Great Britain is a creditor country.

Writing in advance of the recent recession, Sir David Meek pointed, prophetically, to certain risks attaching to the preceding recovery which have since materialized. Thus, in addition to emphasizing "the danger of commodity prices getting out of control," he stressed the "neglect of export markets" as a weakness which "narrows the basis of the world economic structure," and proceeded to note that, "while the re-armament programme has been a source of considerable stimulus to trade and industry, it is also a source of possible danger. When the stimulus disappears, some of the commodity markets may be severely tested, particularly as the heavy armaments expenditure is not spread over the whole range of commodities. . . . Fortunately, thoughtful minds in Europe and America are not unaware of these dangers and show an understanding of the difficulties inherent in the situation." General free trade, even if desirable, has long since ceased to be an objective of practical statesmanship, but freer trade than now obtains remains practicable as well as desirable, and, in the long run, is regarded by many competent authorities, not prone either to exaggeration or panic, as the only effective alternative to another World War.

In relation to the development of the world's economic resources—and not merely their development, but their distribution—it is a legitimate criticism to say that science has run ahead of statesmanship: so far ahead, indeed, that the consequent maladjustments threaten to take several generations to correct. It will hardly be suggested, however, that, on that account, scientific research should be circumscribed or suspended, albeit an incidental consequence of the economic depression in its early years, as Sir Harry Lindsay recalls in his report on the Imperial Institute—which exists to promote the scientific development of Empire resources—was a loss of financial support, now happily restored. Few, if any, Empire organizations have rendered service of greater practical value to Empire industries, but, as Sir Harry Lindsay has been quick to realize, "it is not enough to perform these services in Empire interests if the Empire as a whole knows little about them. A Press Publicity Officer was appointed in 1936, and with his co-operation it has been possible to make the activities of the Institute far better known to the public of the United Kingdom and also of the Dominions and Colonies." Publicity, too, is developing into a science, and the sequel to Sir Harry Lindsay's move will be, one hopes, that, if and when another depression occurs, official grants to the Institute, instead of being curtailed, will be increased. For, as cumulative experience bears increasingly convincing testimony, the remedy for economic dislocation is not less scientific research, but more—meaning thereby not merely the accumulation of scientific knowledge, but its practical application in terms of economic production and commercial organization.

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